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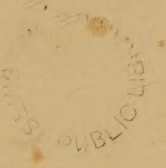
MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

General Editor: REV. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

MEMORIALS OF OLD NORFOLK



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NORWICH CATHEDRAL : FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

MEMORIALS OF OLD NORFOLK

EDITED BY

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"Bury St. Edmunds: Notes and Impressions,"
"The Early and Medieval History of Lindisfarne," etc., etc.

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PREFACE

THE present volume, like the others in the series of which it forms part, does not pretend in any way to be a history of the county of Norfolk. Rather does it endeavour to present the most interesting events in the chequered story of Norfolk in a succession of striking vignettes, which shall bring its varied activities and achievements in a vivid manner before the mind's eye of the reader.

In choosing the subjects for the articles comprised in this work, the object of the Editor has been to select those which might seem in one way or another to appeal to all Norfolk people, and, it may be, to antiquaries and others unconnected with the county; and if he shall prove to have been even partially successful in carrying out his idea, he will be satisfied. He is happy, at least, in having secured the services of so many able and approved writers, who are all specially conversant with their several subjects, and the result will, it is hoped, prove that their collaboration has combined to furnish a valuable contribution to these "Memorials" of the English shires.

A certain amount of sequence will be found in the different chapters, by which means continuity of subject

has been, as far as possible, preserved, and most of them have been embellished with illustrations, some of which are quaint or rare.

It only remains for the Editor to express his grateful thanks to his many able contributors for their generous co-operation, and the hope that the results of their arduous labours will prove satisfactory to the public, and, not least, to all lovers of old Norfolk who may desire a fuller knowledge of the places, persons, and events described in this work.

H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

East Rudham,
December, 1907.

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HISTORIC NORFOLK

By the Editor

THE division of England into counties is, as is well known, late in date, and, unlike the old divisions of France into provinces, it is largely artificial. This renders it difficult in many cases to enclose the history of a district in county compartments; but the difficulty is not so pronounced in the case of Norfolk as in that of some other counties, such as Berkshire or Rutland, for example, for, notwithstanding that her annals and her fortunes coalesce to a large extent with those of East Anglia, of which she formed the predominant partner, yet Norfolk has a stirring and an important history of her own.

At the close of the prehistoric period, which lies beyond the confines of this volume, the district now known as Norfolk, in common with Suffolk and parts of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, is found in the possession of a Celtic tribe belonging to the Goidelic branch of the race, as is sufficiently proved by the names by which it was successively known to Roman writers, and by the name of the only king or chieftain of which we have record before the separate existence of the tribe was merged in the general life of Roman Britain.

Cæsar, in his description of his invasion of Britain, speaks of the tribe under the designation of Cenimagni, and of their territory as lying to the north of the Trinobantes, who occupied Essex. A hundred years later, at the time of the invasion under Claudius, the tribe is known by

the name of Iceni, and the name of their King is Prasutagus. In both the earlier and later forms of the name of the tribe we may see a testimony to the importance of their position in Celtic Britain, the word being a modification of the Goidelic *ceann*, which means "head"; and by the earlier form they are connected with the Cenomanni, whom we find occupying extensive territories in Gaul and Upper Italy, while the name of their last King, Prasutagus, points to the same conclusion, containing, as it does, the Indo-European P, the preservation of which is characteristic of the Goidelic branch of the Celtic race, and it means, in all probability, "Very good raider." [1]

The Cenimagni, or Iceni, inhabiting a large and fertile district, would appear to have held a sort of overlordship over the neighbouring tribes, and it was thus easy for their outraged Queen Boadicea, the widow of Prasutagus, to gather together the vast host of 60,000 warriors who followed her standard in the last great revolt of Southern Britain against the Roman conquerors. The origin of this revolt and its disastrous consequences, in which the Iceni stand out for the first and last time on the pages of history, has been often told. Prasutagus, when dying, left one-half of his kingdom, hitherto unconquered, to the Romans, and the other half to his widow. Probably he saw that conquest was inevitable, and hoped thereby to secure better terms for his people. The insolence of the Roman soldiery, however, frustrated his object, and the story of the revolt which was raised by Boadicea to avenge the wrongs inflicted on herself and her daughters, makes one of the most graphic narratives in the pages of Tacitus and Dion Cassius. This took place in the year 62 A.D.[2]

---

1 Nicholson's *Keltic Researches*, p. 17.

2 In the grounds of the parsonage-house at Quidenham, in this county, there is a mound which local tradition affirms to be the burial-place of the warrior Queen. It stands close to the road, near a small stream, and is fifty yards round at the base, which is surrounded by a

For nearly four hundred years afterwards peace reigned among the Romanized descendants of the ancient Iceni, and the annals of the time are blank. Two of the principal settlements of the Iceni became important Roman stations and centres of trade—Sitomagus and Venta Icenorum—and the old trackways were utilized and improved for the march of troops as well as for the transit of goods. Roman camps were established, and Roman or Romano-British landowners set up their villas, but both camps and villas were few in number considering the size of the district. I have placed Sitomagus in Norfolk because, on grounds which I have detailed elsewhere, I hold that it is to be identified with Thetford rather than with Dunwich in Suffolk, and if we seek for the chief city of Prasutagus and Boadicea, it is at Sitomagus (Thetford) that we shall find it. Venta Icenorum, too, is to be identified with Caistor, by Norwich, rather than with Norwich itself, three miles distant. It was the trading centre of the Iceni, as its name, Venta, from the Latin *vendere*, tells us, and was likewise the seat of a Roman camp, the remains of which are to be seen at the present day. The Icknield Way, the Peddars' Way, along which many objects belonging to the British and Romano-British periods have been discovered, and the vestiges of Roman roads traceable by means of such place-names as Stratton, of which there is one on the southward track taken by the ninth Iter of Antoninus on the line from Venta Icenorum (Caistor) to Sitomagus (Thetford), and another, Stratton Strawless, on the track from Caistor to the great camp at Branodunum (Brancaster), enable us to trace the line of march of the legions

trench. This tumulus is locally called "The Bubberies," which the people say is a corruption of Boadicea or Boudicca. It has never been explored, but is supposed to have been the site of a battle, from the large number of skulls and other human remains which are found in the churchyard close by scattered in the utmost confusion, and within coffins, some two feet below the surface. "The bones," says Canon Garnier, the late rector, in a private letter, "are very ancient, and it would almost seem as if this churchyard was once a pit into which many bodies were cast."

as they passed from camp to camp, and also to follow the train of pack-mules which conveyed the articles of trade and barter from place to place.

Caistor was an important camp, as it lay at the head waters of the estuary, which in this age ran right up to its walls from the North Sea, and because it dominated the then capital city of the district. Brancaster acquired more and more importance as time went on owing to the increasing frequency of raids on the part of the "Vikings" of that age—the Angles and Saxons from the low-lying lands of North Germany on the other side of the North Sea. Brancaster was garrisoned by Dalmatian cavalry, and was the seat of government of an officer called the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, who was under the *Dux Brittanniarum*, or Viceroy of Britain. Other Roman camps were situated at Tasburgh, where there are extensive remains; Castleacre, which is described elsewhere; Castle Rising; and Burgh, near Yarmouth, which is just over the Suffolk border, but is one of the most perfect examples of a Roman fortress, and is believed to be the station of Garianonum, established by P. Ostorius Scapula to keep in check the warlike Iceni after the conquest. Roman villas have been discovered in several localities in the county, the two latest being at Grimston and Gayton, in North-West Norfolk; but though the "finds" include the usual articles of domestic use in Samian, Upchurch, and Castor ware, and pins, brooches, and other ornaments, no fine tesselated pavements have been found such as rejoice the heart of the excavator at Brading in the Isle of Wight, Castor in Northants, the city of London, and elsewhere. In fact, to judge from their relics, the Roman landowners of Norfolk would seem to have been not among the most prosperous of their class.

In the year 410 A.D. the troubles at the heart of the empire caused the withdrawal of the legions from its outlying portions, and the last Roman soldier bade farewell to Britain. Then the low-lying lands on the East Coast

fell an easy prey to the Teutonic invaders, hitherto kept in check by the Roman fleet and the strong arm of Rome; and in the course of the next century we find Norfolk, with the adjoining counties, forming one of the kingdoms of the Saxon octarchy—that of East Anglia. Many interesting remains of the heathen Angles, including proofs that they practised cremation as well as inhumation, have been found in cemeteries belonging to this period. Whether Christianity spread to any extent during the Roman occupation is doubtful; no remains of any Christian church of that period have been discovered in Norfolk. It was to a completely heathen people that Felix, the Burgundian, in the reign of Sigebert, called the Learned, brought the message of the Cross at the beginning of the seventh century; but the message seems to have been well received, and in the course of the next century the county seems to have been fully Christianized. Felix founded the Bishopric of East Anglia at Dunwich, the capital city in that age, and is said to be buried at Felixstowe. In his time, Fursey, the Apostle from Ireland, after preaching everywhere, founded a monastery according to the Benedictine rule at Cnobbesburgh in the marshes where the Roman fortress of Garianonum had once stood.[1] This and Beodric's Worth, now Bury St. Edmunds, whither Sigebert retired, were the two first monasteries in East Anglia. In the year 673 A.D. a second Bishopric was founded at North Elmham, near

[1] Bede relates a remarkable vision which Fursey had, in which he was carried by angels to the confines of hell, where he saw four hearths burning destined to consume the world. The first will engulf the souls of those given to lying and deceit; the second, the souls of those who have preferred the riches of the world to the love of heaven; the third, those who have sown discord and hatred; the fourth, the wicked, and those who have spoiled the weak. Passing through the flames, which could only hurt the guilty, he beheld troops of hideous demons tormenting the damned. Finally, after showing him the abodes of the just, the angels brought him safely back to earth. It is interesting to compare this vision with the Revelation of Peter, which Fursey could not have known, and with the subsequent descriptions of Dante, on which all mediæval ideas of hell were based. Milton's conception is very different. Fursey arrived in England in 633, preached in East Anglia, passed over to France in 648, and died in Poitou in 650. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, Bk. iii., cap. 19; *cf.* Delapierre, *L'Enfer*, pp. 35 ff.

Dereham, and some remains of the later Saxon church, of about the latter half of the tenth century, may still be seen there, almost buried by the Norman Motte subsequently erected. The best-known of the early kings of East Anglia is King Anna, who was slain by Penda, the ferocious heathen King of Mercia, A.D. 655. Anna was a pious and able monarch, but he is more renowned for his daughters than for any achievements of his own. These ladies were Sexburga, who married Earconbert, King of Kent, and ruled as regent after his death of the plague. She subsequently retired to Sheppey, where she founded a nunnery, and later on she became the second Abbess of Ely; Ethelburga, who crossed the Channel and died Abbess of Brie; Etheldreda, who married Egfrid, King of Northumbria, and maintained a celibate life in spite of the marriage bond, subsequently abandoning her far northern home and becoming the foundress of Ely; and Witburga, who founded the nunnery and church at Dereham, where her Wishing Well still exists, and lay buried there until her remains were stolen in the tenth century by the monks of Ely.[1]

The annals of East Anglia were peaceful until the ninth century, when the great Viking raids commenced which transformed Norfolk into a Scandinavian province, and brought a flood of heathenism once more over the land; this was not dispelled until the Danish King, Guthrum, or Guthorm, was baptized in accordance with his treaty with Alfred the Great. It was in the year 870 that King Edmund, who had transferred the capital from Dunwich to Thetford, was defeated and slain near there by the Danish forces under Inguar and Hubba. In later days he was accounted to have suffered martyrdom, and was canonized by popular acclaim,[2] and his remains, after

1 "The Abbot and Monks of Ely stole this precious Relique and translated it to Ely Cathedral, where it was interred near her three Royal Sisters. A.D. 974."—*Inscription over her tomb at Dereham.*

2 Canonized by popular acclaim, not by formal decree (*pace* Carlyle). —See Reyce's *Breviary of Suffolk*, pp. 283-4; (edited by Lord Francis Hervey).

many vicissitudes, including the journey during which they lay in the little church at Greensted, in Essex—the only remaining example of a Saxon wooden church—were finally deposited at Bury, where he had been crowned, and which after him was called Bury St. Edmunds, and enshrined immediately to the east of the spot where the High Altar of the church of the great abbey afterwards stood.

Remains of the Danish period everywhere abound, in the shape of earthworks, where bloody fights took place, and place-names, which prove how complete was the conquest; for I assign the Danish place-names to this period rather than to a pre-Roman Scandinavian occupation, to which Mr. Walter Rye would refer them.

It was at this time, too, that Norwich began to acquire that predominant position as the chief city of Norfolk, which she has ever since maintained. The Angles seem to have founded a settlement in early days in the district known as Conesford (or the King's ford), of which Tombland was the centre and market-place, and where the burh-motes were held; alongside of this the Danish settlement of Westwyk, of which Tombland[1] was still the centre, grew up; later on came the Norman district of Mancroft, round the great Mound and Castle Keep; and these became the subsequent wards of the city, as is described in a later chapter.

Canute, as a Dane, was fond of the Danelagh, as the Danish district of his kingdom, of which Norfolk formed part, was called, and either he or Abbot Uvius, of Bury, under his direction, founded a monastery at Thetford in expiation of the murder of St. Edmund. This is now known as "The Nunnery," because in 1160, having become decayed, it was transferred to the use of the nuns of Lyng. Canute also re-founded the great Abbey of St. Benet-at-Hulme, not far from Norwich.

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1 *Tomlond* = Tombland, open space. Hudson, *How Norwich Grew*, etc., p. 10, and pp. 26 and 33.

In the days of King Edward the Confessor, and, indeed, for a hundred years before the Norman Conquest, quite a mania for church building seems to have spread throughout East Anglia, and, as appears from the *Domesday Survey*, there were no less than 317 churches in the county of Norfolk alone. Judging by some which survive, such as the tower of St. Julian's, Norwich, Houghton-on-the-Hill, Dunham Magna, and others, they were in no way inferior, for the age which produced them, to any of our mediæval or more modern parish churches. Dunham particularly, with its internal arcading, its axial tower, and triangular western door (now blocked), is a very fine example of later Saxon architecture of the time of Edward the Confessor.

With the Norman Conquest in 1066 came a wave of monastic, church, and castle building. The Saxon, or, rather, Anglo-Danish, lords, landowners, and tenants, were either slain, dispersed, or reduced to servitude, and the gratitude of the victors to Providence, and their determination to make themselves secure, could be expressed in no other way. The first Norman Earl of Norfolk was Ralph de Guader, to whom were given broad lands, but he, heading a revolt in 1075, had to make way for Roger Bigod, the first representative of a family long connected with the county, to whom many religious foundations are due. The Bigods were the builders of the great keep which now surmounts the Castle Hill at Norwich, as William de Albini was of the keep at Castle Rising, and William de Warrenne of Castleacre, where the great prehistoric earthworks are now surmounted with the broken curtain-wall that enclosed his keep, which dominated the Valley of the Nar, and every stone of which has disappeared.

The Warrennes, like all the great Norman lords, possessed extensive estates and houses in other counties. Their principal seat was at Lewes in Sussex, where they erected the castle, and founded the Cluniac Priory in

memory of, and for prayers to be offered for the souls of, those who fell at Hastings. Accordingly Gundrada, wife of William de Warrenne I., and step-daughter of the Conqueror, being the daughter of his consort Matilda by a former husband, founded at Castleacre a priory of Cluniacs as a cell to Lewes, as will be more particularly described in another chapter. Her example was so extensively followed during the succeeding centuries comprised in the "Ages of Faith"—*i.e.*, from about 1100 to 1400 A.D.—that no less than 124 monastic institutions of all sorts, Benedictines, Cluniacs, Premonstratensian Canons, Austin Canons, Friars White, Black and Grey, including such magnificent foundations as St. Benet's, Hulme, the Cathedral Priory at Norwich, Walsingham, Castleacre, and St. Faith's, besides such smaller societies as Binham, Westacre, Bromholm, Pentney, West Dereham, Walsham, Cokesford, Creke, and Beeston, and colleges, hospitals, nunneries, and alien houses, were found existing at the Dissolution.

Meanwhile, Herbert de Losinga, the first Norman Bishop, having transferred the See from Thetford, where it had been established for a few years, to Norwich, in 1094, commenced worthily the work of church building, which was still to remain so characteristic of the county, by founding the Cathedral Church of Norwich, strictly on the model of Fécamp, of which he had been Prior in 1088,[1] within the precincts of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, also founded by him. This was a practice which remained a distinguishing feature of English cathedral building, and marked it off from the Continental custom, which prevailed particularly in the province of Old Gaul, fast developing into modern France, under which the cathedral took the place of the Roman Basilica, and became the centre of civic life, a position which was held, for example, in Norwich by the great civic church of

[1] In the same year he was made Abbot of Ramsey, Hunts., and Bishop of Thetford in 1091.

St. Peter Mancroft. It was owing to the English custom, rooted in the English character, and due to the manner in which Christianity first spread in England, that there were so many conflicts between the cathedral monks and the citizens which we read of in subsequent centuries.[1] Herbert de Losinga also built the great churches of St. Nicholas, Yarmouth, and St. Margaret's, Lynn, and the church at North Elmham.

The Norman work surviving in Norfolk is, however, comparatively small in amount, as is also the work of the Early English (thirteenth century) and Decorated (fourteenth century) periods, because most of the parish churches were either re-built or largely altered in the fifteenth century, when the characteristic English style, known as the Perpendicular, the work of country gentlemen and successful merchants, who furnished the money, while the local guilds of craftsmen furnished the labour, was in vogue. The finest specimens of this style in the county are undoubtedly the Marshland Churches of Tilney All Saints', and Walpole; St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich; Cromer, Fakenham, Worstead, etc., and those of Sall and Cawston between Reepham and Aylsham, and Cley and Wiveton on the sea-coast. It is to this period also that most of the fine screens remaining in Norfolk—the finest being those at Ranworth and North Walsham—belong.[2]

It was, in fact, in the fifteenth century that Norfolk entered upon the full tide of prosperity, which has caused her to be rightly described as the Lancashire of Mediæval England. A curious evidence of this may be seen in the paucity of work of the Early English and Decorated periods compared with the abundance of work in the subsequent Perpendicular style, above noted. The finest Early English work in the county is that in the

1 Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, vol. i., pp. 143, *seq.*

2 The best example of a Norman Church in Norfolk is at Walsoken. Castle Rising is also Norman, but very little is left of the original work.

arcading of the chancel of the church at Burgh, near Aylsham, where Edward I., who was frequently in Norfolk, had a hunting-box; in the chancel of Blakeney Church, near Cley, where there is a beautiful east window of seven lancets; and in the west front of Binham Priory Church. The finest Decorated church is that at Elsing, near Dereham, which contains the handsome brass commemorating Sir Hugh de Hastings, who died in 1347.

But our excursion into ecclesiastical topics has led us away from history proper, and it is time that we returned.

Twenty-one years after the Conquest the great Survey of England, of which we have the results in *Domesday Book*, was taken, and by that time we find that Norfolk has settled down to a quiet acquiescence in Norman overlordship, and is, consequently, both prosperous and, as compared with the rest of the country, populous. Of the 1,392 manors or lordships into which the county was divided, 95 were in the hands of the King, and there were 63 tenants *in capite* and 435 under-tenants. The value of these 1,392 manors was almost exactly double what it had been T. R. E.—*i.e.*, in the time of Edward the Confessor—and of the total population of England, as recorded in *Domesday*, Norfolk contained nearly one-tenth.

Thetford, which T. R. E. contained 943 burgesses, at the Survey only had 720, and there were 22 empty houses; Yarmouth numbered 70 burgesses on both occasions; while Norwich, which T. R. E. had 1,320 burgesses, at the Survey contained no more than 665, and 480 bordars. But with the new era Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn soon began to grow and prosper, for while King and barons were contending, the towns were laying the foundations of future commercial prosperity, and were obtaining the charters which embodied the rights they were able to extort from necessitous monarchs. No doubt, too, the building of Losinga's great churches did much to promote the welfare of the towns.

During the anarchy under King Stephen many "adulterine" castles were built by the lawless nobles in different parts of the county, as they were all over England, but very little of them remains, as the majority were demolished by order of Henry II.; but in spite of the anarchy the Church continued to prosper, and the foundations of many religious houses, such as that of Cokesford, which was first founded at Rudham by William de Chesney for Austin Canons in 1145, date from its most troubled years. Hugh Bigod, who had been Seneschal to Henry I., and held Norwich Castle, at first espoused the cause of Stephen, but being required to hand over the Castle which he had built to William de Blois, he joined the adherents of the Empress Matilda, and the city suffered and lost its liberties. Afterwards, however, he became reconciled to the King, and received the Earldom of Norfolk, and the liberties of Norwich were restored. The grant of the Earldom was confirmed by the young King, Henry II., who also granted him a long period of grace before he was called upon to give up his many unlawfully acquired castles. Hugh Bigod was, however, a notorious turncoat, and in 1173 we find him joining the rebellion of young Henry, the King's second son, against his father, and admitting some three hundred Flemish soldiers, forerunners of a great host with which Count Philip of Flanders had sworn to invade England, into his castles. At the head of these troops he marched upon Norwich, which was held for the King by the citizens, took it by assault, committed a vast slaughter of men and women, and finally sacked and fired the city. But his triumph was short-lived, for the rebellion was suppressed in 1175, and Henry's power was marked by the clemency he displayed, for Hugh Bigod escaped with a fine of 1,000 marks, and lost none of the revenues of his earldom, save for the time he was in open revolt. He was now an old man, but, notwithstanding, his restless spirit could

not be quiet, so he joined the crusade, and died in Palestine in 1177.

During the latter years of Henry II., hatred of the Jews, whose numbers had been increasing since the Conquest, and whose extortions were, no doubt, largely responsible for the feeling, had been growing in intensity, and this found expression in frightful massacres at Norwich and Lynn, as well as at York and elsewhere, on the occasion of the Coronation of Richard I. This did not however, prevent the granting by the King to the citizens of Norwich, on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land, of a charter enabling them to elect from among themselves bailiffs to collect a fixed annual sum in place of the previous arbitrary exactions. The Jews were finally expelled from England in 1290, and never returned till they were re-admitted by Cromwell during the Commonwealth.

The tragedy of John's turbulent reign found its end, if not actually in Norfolk, at least on its borders. Roger Bigod, son of Hugh, was one of the barons who at Runnymede extracted from the helpless tyrant the great charter and foundation of English liberties known as Magna Carta, which proclaimed in its opening clause: "*Quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit*," a freedom which, in the end, as the most recent commentator on the charter points out, benefited the State almost to a greater degree than it did the Church.[1] This was in 1215. In October in the following year John, after having been feasted to excess by the loyal burghers of Lynn, to whom he is said to have presented the Loving Cup still possessed by the Corporation, but which is in reality of fourteenth century workmanship, and may possibly be connected with another John, King of France, and prisoner of the Black Prince at Poictiers, was seized with mortal illness, and, hastily leaving the town, proceeded to the Abbey of

1 McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, p. 225.

Swineshead, in Lincolnshire. On the way he was caught in the returning tide by the Wash, and escaped with the loss of his baggage train and all his treasure, including the Crown and regalia of England—"Everything in the world that he held most dear, short of his own life," going down in the quicksand. Thus somewhere on the shores of the Wash the treasure lies buried to this day, awaiting the magician's wand of some patient antiquary to bring it to light. This was a mortal blow, and some three days later John ended his troubled life at Newark.

With John's death, Louis the Dauphin, who had invaded England, and occupied Norwich Castle and other places, withdrew oversea, leaving the young Henry III. in peaceful possession of his kingdom, and Norwich reverted, with the rest, to its English possessors.

The closing years of the long reign of Henry III. were harassed by the struggles between the King and the barons, at whose head was the renowned Simon de Montfort, which culminated in the summoning of the first Parliament to which burgesses from the towns were admitted to take their places along with the knights of the shires, in 1265. It was not, however, till the Parliament of 1290 that the first members for Norfolk sat, and not till 1298 that the first representatives for Norwich were present. (Le Strange.)

In the troubles of the time Norfolk bore its part. Roger Bigod is found among the disaffected barons, and his reply to the King's threat to send reapers to reap his fields is well known: "And I will send you back the heads of your reapers." In 1265 Norwich Castle was seized for the barons, but the citizens held out for the King, partly, no doubt, in gratitude for charters confirmed, but more because of the perennial feud which was going on between them and the cathedral monks, as was the case at Bury and elsewhere, which led in 1272 to a riot, in which the monastery was attacked and partly

destroyed. For this the town was put under an interdict, and many citizens were hanged, while a grand entrance-gate to the cathedral precincts, known as the Ethelbert Gate, was exacted as a penance. A Parliament was being held at Bury St. Edmunds in this year, and Henry III. came down in person to Norwich to settle affairs between the citizens and the monks, and the anxieties caused by this business are said to have shortened his life, for he died not long after, in the same year.

It was at Castle Rising, in the mighty keep erected by William de Albini, that Edward III. incarcerated his mother, Isabella, the she-wolf of France, and there he paid her more than one visit, the most notable being in 1340, after the King and his Queen, Philippa, had been at Norwich, where they had witnessed a great tournament.

When this monarch was preparing for his French wars, in which he won the notable victory of Crecy in 1346, it was the brave men of Norfolk who largely contributed to his success; and, as showing the relative importance of the ports and towns in the kingdom at that date, it may be noted that while Yarmouth provided forty-three ships and Lynn nineteen, London only supplied twenty-four, Bristol twenty-five, Plymouth twenty-six, and Weymouth twenty.

During the fourteenth century Norfolk was fairly prosperous and contented, and progressing in the arts and crafts of civilised life, to which the woollen industry introduced by the Flemings in the time of Edward III., and of which Norwich itself and Worstead became centres, gave a large impetus. This prosperity, however, suffered a terrible set-back through the ravages of the Black Death in 1347-8, so graphically described by Dr. Jessopp in *The Coming of the Friars*, and the consequent agrarian troubles in the beginning of the reign of Richard II., in 1381.

The Black Death, which had been steadily approaching from the east for some years, burst upon England in 1347, and in the course of this and the following year it ravaged Norfolk as it did the rest of the country, more than decimating the population, and bringing desolation and ruin in its train. In Norfolk alone some 70,000 people are said to have died; it attacked all classes, and to judge by the number of institutions to benefices in the succeeding years, and the class of men appointed to the parishes, two out of every three parish priests would appear to have succumbed, and there were no educated men left to take their places. As an old writer expresses it, "the benefices were filled with shavelings."

Two-thirds of the parish clergy in Norfolk died, and, according to the new researches, the rates were similar in all England. Dr. Jessopp tells us that in Hunstanton, a parish of some 2,000 acres, 172 tenants of the manor all died within eight months, including the parish priest; and that of these, seventy-four left no male heirs behind them, and nineteen others absolutely no blood relations to inherit their holdings.

At Harleston, near Norwich, there died fifty-four men and fourteen women out of a population of less than four hundred, and in many cases their whole families must have perished with them. At Heacham, near Hunstanton, a dispute between a husband and wife about the latter's dower was in April put down by the steward of the manor for hearing before himself and a jury of the homage at the next sitting of the court, which would occur in two months' time; but when the day came every one of the wife's witnesses was dead, and the husband also. These exact statistics from the Court Rolls are, however, perhaps hardly so eloquent as the absolute silence with which these months of pestilence are passed over in the otherwise unbroken records of many manors, showing that not only the steward, but everyone else who was capable of keeping the Rolls, had succumbed.

The eastern counties seem to have suffered more severely than any other part of England, and Norwich especially, for we find that for many years afterwards it was reduced from being the second city in the kingdom to the sixth place, with a population not more than one-third what it had been before the Black Death. The whole of England, town and country alike, probably lost from one-third to one-half of its inhabitants; East Anglia more than a half. England was not so populous again till the reign of Elizabeth.[1]

For a time cultivation became impossible—harvests rotted in the ground and the fields were left unploughed. The disorganization of labour was complete, and must be insisted on, because it is only thus that we can understand the circumstances that led up to the Peasants' Revolt, and the course of agricultural history—for now, instead of there being everywhere a fair abundance of labourers who were either willing or could be made to work, there was everywhere a scarcity. The supply of hired labour was much reduced. Nearly all landowners had large quantities of land thrown on their hands owing to their tenants having died without leaving successors. Consequently, the labourers necessary to take the place of the tenants who had disappeared, and who had thus become indispensable, found themselves masters of the situation, and, naturally, their demands for wages increased enormously, and still they were not satisfied. Rather than comply with them, many of the landowners turned their farms into sheep-runs; but this only aggravated matters.

Consequently, by passing the Statute of Labourers in 1351, they attempted to regulate supply and demand by Act of Parliament, as has often been done since, with uniform want of success; for, though the wages they fixed were fair enough according to the standard of living in that age, yet they could not make up for the shortage

[1] Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, pp. 193 *seq.*; Traill and Mann, *Social England*, vol. ii., pp. 188 *seq.*

of labour, and the peasants, though once more reduced to the position of serfs, knew it; and thus, after simmering for thirty years, the great revolt broke out.

The results of the plague were seen in the misery which marked the closing years of Edward's otherwise prosperous reign, and this was the main cause of the Peasant Revolt of 1381. It was the outcome of the wretched condition to which the remaining labourers had been reduced by the turning of large tracts of country into sheep-runs, which left them destitute of the means of subsistence. Their feelings, already roused by the teaching of Langland's great poem, *Piers the Plowman*, were further inflamed by the genuinely socialistic sermons of John Ball, the mad priest of Kent; and it needed but a spark to kindle them into a fire. This was supplied by the obnoxious Poll Tax, and the killing of one of the tax-gatherers by Wat the Tyler.

Everywhere the rioters seem to have been animated by the same ideas, and to have demanded emancipation from the powers of the great landowners, or, as they expressed it, the abolition of villeinage, reduction of rent to fourpence an acre, free access to all fairs and markets, and the establishment of a free peasant proprietary under the King himself. The leader of the revolt in Norfolk was one John the Litester, a dyer, of Worstead, who took and held Norwich; but on the approach of the King's troops under Henry le Despencer, the martial Bishop of Norwich, the insurgents retired on North Walsham, where they were finally defeated, and Litester, with many of his followers, was hanged.

The revolt was suppressed, and villeinage was not abolished—indeed, in the Isle of Ely it lingered till Tudor times, and we even read of royal manors where Elizabeth found serfs to emancipate in 1574; but the landowners must have become more and more convinced that they were playing a losing game, and the people, having once grasped at freedom, never again let it go. The Peasants'

Rising of 1381 is memorable as the first conflict on a large scale between capital and labour in England, and Norfolk had borne her part in the fray.

Henry le Despencer was a type of bishop whom it is difficult to imagine in these days. Descended from Joan, daughter of Edward I., he was a warrior to the core, and found his chief pleasure in fighting. No doubt he entered with the greater zest upon the task of subduing the rebels of Norfolk as some set-off to the thrashing which he had received at the hands of the commons at Lynn in 1377. Be this as it may, we find him later on heading a crusade against the anti-Pope Clement in France, where he died. The remains of the fortress which he built for himself at North Elmham, on the demesne which had remained in the hands of the bishops of the diocese after the removal of the See by Bishop Herfast to Thetford in 1075, and again on its transference to Norwich, may be seen to this day. It was during his episcopate that William Sawtre, Chaplain of St. Margaret's, Lynn, was burnt at the stake as a Lollard—the first Englishman to suffer death for his opinions under Henry IV.'s savage act.[1]

The Wars of the Roses, which wrought such havoc elsewhere, and resulted in the destruction of the old nobility, seem to have had little effect in Norfolk, for it is during this period, as already stated, that the majority of the fine churches now existing in the county were erected. Henry VI. granted a charter to Yarmouth, conferring the privilege of a mayor instead of bailiffs upon the town, and it was during this reign that the great family of Howard, whose head is the present Duke of Norfolk, first came to the front.

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1 Sawtre, burnt 1401, was the first to suffer under the statute *De heretico comburendo*, 2 Henry IV., c. 15; but before then priests had to hand over heretics to the secular power. A deacon, *temp.* Henry III., was degraded at Oxford A.D. 1222, and sentenced to the stake by the secular power; one of the Albigenses was burnt in London in 1210, and hence, probably, Camden wrote—"*Ex quo regnante Joanne Christiani in Christianos apud nos flammis sævire cœperunt.*

The fourteenth century was the golden age of the Cinque Ports, of which Yarmouth was an appanage, receiving bailiffs from Winchelsea during the herring season. The early part of the fifteenth was the golden age of the towns of Norfolk—and, indeed, of the county generally. The assessment for the county—*i.e.*, for that one which included the greatest number of small clothing towns—was greater than that of any other county, excluding London, which was not reckoned in Middlesex. Little places like Aylsham and North Walsham were famous, each for its own special kind of woollen manufacture. Little old-world havens, more stranded now, if possible, than the smaller Cinque Ports themselves, such as Wells and Cley and Blakeney, in comparison with which Winchelsea is a roaring mart, counted their tonnage by the thousand and their vessels by the score. There is an old tradition that the merchants of the Hanseatic League once traded with Cley in such numbers that a special portion of the churchyard was reserved for them to be buried in; and it is certain that the Cley men had a complaint to make to the King, along with the men of York, London, Colchester, Yarmouth, Norwich, Lynn, etc., against the merchant pirates of Weimar and Rostock, who had robbed their ships on the high seas. Lynn had an establishment of its own at Bergen, in Norway, itself a great outlying port of the Hansa. All who visit North Norfolk are familiar with the splendid church of Worstead, half-way between Norwich and Cromer; but how many remember that the humble thread of which our stockings are knitted was named after the place?

Henry VIII. made the pilgrimage to Walsingham, walking barefoot from the chapel of Houghton-in-the-Dale to the shrine of Our Lady, which then was second only to that of St. Thomas of Canterbury in popular estimation, a few years before the great priory was overwhelmed in the universal cataclysm which overtook the religious houses, and which was due more to the

necessities of that spendthrift monarch and his rapacious courtiers than to any desire for a "purifying of religion." To Norfolk belonged Catherine Howard, one of Henry's numerous Queens, and probably also Anne Boleyn, whose father was the owner of Blickling. The unhappy Amy Robsart, wife of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, also claims Norfolk for her birthplace.

The reign of Edward VI. is notable in Norfolk for the rebellion of Robert Kett, who belonged to a wealthy family at Wymondham, though he is sometimes called the Tanner, in 1549. This was of the same character, and due to the same causes, as the Pilgrimage of Grace in the reign of Henry VIII., and the abortive revolt at Walsingham a little later. These all sprang from the disturbance produced in men's minds by the suppression of the monasteries and the revolution in religion brought about by the Reformation, but social discontent was also largely conducive of them, as may be seen by the demands again preferred by the rebels against enclosures, and that all "bondmen may be made free."

Kett obtained possession of Norwich, but the revolt was soon suppressed, and, with several of his followers, he was duly executed.

During this short reign Norfolk suffered, in common with the rest of the country, from the spoliation of church goods, which was carried out with ruthless severity in the endeavour to "purge" the Church and her services from all traces of "Romish superstition," by the Duke of Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer. A considerable quantity of church plate and other valuables seems also to have been appropriated by the churchwardens and other parishioners, who, no doubt, felt that, after all, they were annexing what was their own and not the King's. Many beautiful objects, too, were lost, and much stained-glass was destroyed, under the injunctions for the removal of such images as led to superstition. Several inventories

have been preserved, and have been transcribed in *Norfolk Archæology*, i. 73, and vi. 361, which give details of these transactions, on which space forbids our dwelling more particularly.

With the reaction in the reign of Mary, the whole of the Edwardine legislation concerning the sacraments, uniformity, and priests' marriages, was repealed, and the ratio of deprivations in Norwich Diocese in 1554 was one to five of the beneficed clergy. A curious illustration of the way in which one, at least, like a veritable Vicar of Bray, escaped, is to be found in the oldest register of the parish of West Rudham, a village in West Norfolk, where we read that—

> Peter Stancliff Vicar of ys Church was in the daies of Q. Mary enforced to put away his wife, who thereupon married to another man; but (when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown) he took her again from her second husband."[1]

Doubtless this worthy vicar did not stand alone!

Many Norfolk persons suffered at the stake during this reign, among them William Allen, burnt at Walsingham; Simon Miller, a merchant, of Lynn; Elizabeth Cooper, a pewterer's wife, of Norwich; John Rogers, of Laxfield, shoemaker; Cecily, wife of Edward Owens, of Norwich; and Thomas Hudson, of Aylsham, glover; and the memory of these acts is, without doubt, largely accountable for the fact that in the Civil Wars of the next century we find Norfolk on the side of the Parliament, and for the Puritan spirit of its people since.

Queen Elizabeth was several times in the county, endeared to her by her mother's association with it, and on one occasion, in 1578, made a royal progress to Norwich, where the loyal citizens prepared a right royal reception for her.

James I. had a hunting-box at Thetford, where, however, he was, or felt himself, so insulted by the inhabitants on the occasion of one of his visits, in consequence,

[1] Astley, *Two Norfolk Villages*, pp. 40 and 42.

apparently, of his arbitrary preservation of game, that he never entered the county again.

During the troubled times of the Civil War and Commonwealth, Norfolk, where a strong Puritan spirit had existed from the days of the Reformation, is found on the side of the Parliament, and forms one of the seven associated counties from which Cromwell drew his Ironsides who fought and won at Edge Hill and Naseby. Lynn alone, the ever-loyal, held out, under Sir Hamon Le Strange, for the King; and the siege of Lynn in 1643 forms one of the most stirring episodes in its history. A Royalist newspaper of the time, the *Mercurius Aulicus*, commended the inhabitants for that—

"like honest subjects and true Englishmen they have kept his lordship (the Earl of Manchester) out of their town, it being so strongly fortified that his lordship has as much hope of Heaven's gates as to enter into Lynn."

The boast, however, was not of long duration, for the threat of bombardment, and the preliminary advent of "a shot of 18 lbs. weight which came in at the window over the west door of St. Margaret's Church, and took the middle pillar and great part off, and broke it in many hundred pieces," during service-time on Sunday, September 3rd, without, however, doing any damage to life or limb, led to a speedy surrender. In this same year "the virgins of Norwich," as Wallington says, hearing of the Cavaliers' outrages committed upon their sex wheresoever they got the victory, are so sensible of their reputations that "they have readily contributed so much money as hath raised a goodly troop of horse for their defence, which is called the Maidens' Troop." This was done also at Huntingdon and elsewhere in East Anglia, and is the origin of the myth that the "maidens" constituted themselves into a troop of horse.

In 1646 Charles was at Downham, and passed through part of Norfolk in the disguise of a clergyman after his flight from Oxford. In 1648 a tragic incident occurred in

Norwich, which ended in a terrible disaster. A number of mutineers against the Parliament, as they were called, seized the city, and it was only after a sanguinary conflict that the revolt was suppressed, and a considerable number were executed in the Castle Ditches. As an illustration of the Puritan spirit of the county, it may be noted that during the Commonwealth the bailiffs and Aldermen of Great Yarmouth made the following proposal with regard to Norwich Cathedral. They asked Parliament to "be pleased to grant us such part of the lead and other useful materials of that vast and altogether useless cathedral in Norwich towards building of a workhouse to employ the almost sterved poor, and repairing our peeres, or otherwise as you shall think fit and sufficient." Fortunately for posterity, the request was not granted!

This Puritan spirit, also largely due, no doubt, to the independent character of the people, a trait which they owed, probably, to their Scandinavian origin, as well as to the infusion of Flemish and Huguenot blood during the Reformation period, had brought it about that the tenets of Robert Brown, the founder of the sect of "Independents," and the principles of Presbyterianism, had both spread earlier and more widely in East Anglia, and more particularly in Norfolk, than in any other part of the country. This has persisted through all changes down to the present time, causing Norfolk to be, with the exception, perhaps, of Wales and Cornwall, the greatest stronghold of Nonconformity, though now rather more of a Wesleyan or Methodist type than any other, to be found within the four seas to-day. The Quakers were also strong in Norfolk, as the well-known names of Gurney, Barclay, Hoare, and Buxton testify; and Elizabeth Fry was a Norwich woman. There was, besides, a considerable body of Unitarians in Norwich about the early part of the last century, of whom the Martineaus were the most distinguished members.

During the eighteenth century the history of Norfolk becomes altogether part of the general history of the country. One or two exciting election contests, as in 1714, between Astley and De Grey on one side, and Hoare and Earle on the other, and again in 1734, 1768, and 1780, break the monotony of affairs, and take the place of the rougher and more sanguinary conflicts of older days. The story, however, from the Revolution of 1698 down to the present time is one of the progress of farming and of improvement in respect of the comforts of life, in education, in wages, and in all that makes life worth living for the labouring classes, with the sole exception of the troublous period of the Napoleonic wars, when wheat rose to 120s. the quarter, and other necessaries were at famine prices.

In 1757 the Militia had been reconstituted, and Norfolk played a leading part in the reorganization of the old constitutional force of the country, which represented the train-bands of earlier times, and the origin of which is to be found in the obligation of all freemen to be ready to arm for the preservation of the peace, and the protection of the country from invasion. Norfolk contributed 960 men to the force, of whom Norwich provided 150, and Norfolk men were well to the front, not only in the campaigns which closed at Waterloo, but also in the Crimean and recent South African wars.

While on the subject of the Militia, we must not omit to call attention to a most valuable addition made by Mr. Walter Rye to the publications of the Norfolk Archæological Society in the shape of a volume of *State Papers relating to Musters, Beacons, &c., in Norfolk, from* 1626 *chiefly to the beginning of the Civil War*, which has just appeared. Not the least valuable part of the book is the Introduction, by Mr. C. H. Firth, the greatest living authority on the period. These State Papers, as Mr. Firth points out, show that the chief business of the county authorities between 1626 and 1629 was the

"settling of a perfect militia," as the King phrased it, "considering militia well ordered to be the sure and constant bulwark and strength of the kingdom"; and they should be studied, not only for the light they throw on local history at a most interesting time, but also as containing hints which, *mutatis mutandis*, might well be laid to heart by some would-be army reformers in this twentieth century. The deputy-lieutenants in 1626 say:

"Nothing hath more disabled the people of this kingdom from the warlike and military abilities than the want and neglect of those manlike exercises whereunto in former times they were continually accustomed; especially of archery, running, wrestling, leaping, football playing, casting the sledge or hammer, and playing at cudgels."

The people spend their leisure in drinking, and consuming both their time and their substance in alehouses, instead of spending it in these useful sports. Henceforth, therefore, constables, overseers, and churchwardens, on Sunday after Divine Service is over, are to see that they spend the rest of their time in shooting and similar exercises; and the Sunday closing of alehouses is to be rigidly enforced.[1] How these drastic measures were carried out does not appear; but at least it is proved that the higher authorities in Norfolk heartily supported the Government in the attempt to prepare all able-bodied men to defend the country in case of invasion. It is to be hoped that a similar spirit may be revived in our day! Altogether, we agree with Mr. Firth's verdict that "no single book gives so good a picture of the militia system in the first part of the seventeenth century as this collection of documents."

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[1] *Cf.* Reyce's *Breviary of Suffolk*, pp. 97, 100, and 260-2. Reyce speaks of "the generall forces of our cleargie both on foot and horse back" (1618), on which Lord Francis Hervey remarks: "This is a striking testimony to the patriotism of the clergy," and slyly adds, "We may, perhaps, live to see our parish clergy accompanying the able-bodied men of their flocks on Sunday afternoons, or on other occasions, to rifle practice. The time might be worse spent"; a sentiment which we heartily endorse.

A special band of volunteers was raised in Norfolk in 1797, and £11,000 were subscribed towards expenses at a preliminary meeting in Norwich, in spite of the opposition of "Coke of Norfolk," the agriculturist, who in this matter was on the side of Charles James Fox, for it was felt that the Norfolk coast lay especially exposed, and for some time there was a strong feeling of apprehension as to a threatened landing of French troops at Weybourne, an apprehension which has lately been transferred to another power; but as in the past, so in the future, the spirit of the English people will echo to the exultant words with which Shakespeare concludes his play of *King John:*

> "This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror—
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them—naught shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true."

In conclusion, we cannot omit to mention the fact, of which every Norfolk man is proud, that for more than forty years past the county has been distinguished as the seat of a royal residence. It was shortly before his marriage to the beautiful Princess Alexandra of Denmark that Lord Palmerston arranged for the purchase of the ancient home of the Cobbes at Sandringham from its then owner, the Hon. C. S. Cowper, for £220,000, as a seat for the Prince of Wales, now His Gracious Majesty King Edward VII. In 1870 the old house was entirely removed, and the present mansion, in the Elizabethan style, was erected, and large sums have been spent on the enlarging and beautifying of the estate. Ever popular with all classes of their fellow-subjects during the reign of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, of lamented memory, the Prince and Princess of Wales were always regarded with special affection by their friends and neighbours in Norfolk, and this affection is doubly theirs since the King ascended to the throne. Elsewhere he is King of all the

Britains and Emperor of India: here, at intervals, he can lay aside the cares of State, and, surrounded by his children and grandchildren, enjoy the country life he loves so well, and be the first and foremost of Norfolk squires and the best of hosts to the guests he invites during the shooting season, as he is the best and most conscientious of landlords; while our gracious Queen is never happier than when she is ministering to the needs of her poorer neighbours or attending to her dogs and her model dairy in the beautiful grounds of Sandringham.

Long may their lives be spared to reign over a loyal, happy, and contented people, and to find in the enlivening air of Norfolk and amid the pleasaunces of their Norfolk home that rest and refreshment which neither the stately salons of Buckingham Palace nor the historic halls of Windsor Castle, nor even the Highland grandeur of Balmoral, can bestow!

Our task is done. Dr. Hunt, the President of the Royal Historical Society, says:

"History is a liberal study. To an outsider (so Dr. Ray Lankester tells us) it seems a tedious enumeration of the crimes and follies of mankind. Is it not true that to those who have a fuller acquaintance with it, it is a means of strengthening the understanding, of widening men's sympathies, and of furnishing the soul with an abiding source of pleasure? It is surely no small thing to have constantly with us the memory of the words and deeds of the ablest of mankind in the past, a memory which is specially inspiriting when they are the words and deeds of men of our own nation who have made England what she is. It is surely no small thing that history can add so splendid and necessary an endowment to the palace in which the cultured soul delights to dwell as the glorious order of the great and wise."[1]

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[1] Royal Historical Society's *Transactions*, xx., 15. Dr. Ray Lankester has since explained (*Kingdom of Man*, p. 57) the sense in which he intended his remarks in the Romanes Lecture, 1905, to be taken, but it must be confessed that in his quite justifiable enthusiasm for natural science he still underrates the importance of historical study. *Cf.* Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, p. 178: "History! What is history but the science which teaches us to see the throbbing life of the present in the throbbing life of the past?"

MUNICIPAL NORWICH

By the Rev. W. Hudson, F.S.A.

THE city of Norwich has always held a high position among the towns and cities of the kingdom. For several centuries it took a place among the first few, at times standing second only to London. Naturally, therefore, in the Middle Ages the citizens endeavoured to give some account of its origin, and, failing historic evidence, fell back upon legend. When Queen Elizabeth visited Norwich in 1578 she was welcomed by an ancient British King, Gurguntus, who (but for an unfortunate shower of rain) would have explained to Her Majesty that, 2,000 years before, he had built the castle, being the grandson of a Danish Prince who had been driven from Denmark. Others attributed the building of the castle to Julius Cæsar, and tradition ascribed a great crack in the wall of the keep to the earthquake which accompanied the Crucifixion. Others, again, have thought (and a few still hold this view) that Norwich was the Roman station Venta Icenorum, pointing out that the Norman chronicler, William of Poictiers, writing soon after the Conquest, calls Norwich Guenta. Others, thinking that Venta was not Norwich but Caistor, a little to the south, where a Roman camp still exists, imagined that when the Romans left Britain the inhabitants of Caistor removed to a more convenient site at Norwich. They cited an old rhyme, which said:

"Caistor was a city when Norwich was none,
And Norwich was built with Caistor stone."

King Gurguntus has long ago resumed the silence which he professed to have broken after 2,000 years to give his valuable information to Queen Elizabeth. To the same silence has been relegated the supposed connection between Julius Cæsar and the castle, and modern students are almost universally agreed that not only no Roman building stones are to be found in Norwich, but that there is no evidence of any Roman town or camp having existed on the spot.

A more reasonable theory held its ground till quite recently. It was thought that King Uffa, the first king of the East Angles, threw up the castle mound and erected on it a stockaded fort. Round this grew up the future city. But it has been lately shown that these moated and stockaded mounds were the work of the Normans. This theory, therefore, must join its predecessors.

Yet although we cannot at present trace the actual origin of the city of Norwich, its emergence into the light of definite history reveals it as endowed with a sufficiently striking importance. It was a burgh, with a mint, in the time of King Æthelstan. This is our first notice of the name. It was burnt by King Sweyn in 1006, when he came up the rivers with his ships to avenge the massacre of the Danes by King Ætheldred. We can form little idea of its size at that time, but we know that it became one of the chief centres of the Danish occupation. Under them it must have made astonishing progress—as we find from the description given in *Domesday Book*. In the time of King Edward the Confessor, about 1060, it contained 1,320 burgesses, besides other inhabitants who were not burgesses. This shows it to have become already one of the foremost towns in the kingdom. London and Winchester are not entered in the Survey. Of the towns that are entered, York alone had a larger number of burgesses. If a burgess were of necessity a separate householder, this seems to imply a population of not less than 8,000, and it is a perplexing problem to decide in

what way so large an aggregate of people maintained themselves at that early time. Some were fishermen, and no doubt exchanged their fish, and perhaps salt, for the food supplies of the country people. They must also have had arable and pasture land of their own; and some would be handicraftsmen. But we can hardly suppose that trade and commerce in connection with such articles as iron, leather, or cloth were sufficiently developed to afford permanent occupation to many.

The Norman Conquest brought with it consequences which affected the whole future of the city. When King William left England the year after his invasion, he entrusted this part of his newly-conquered realm to William FitzOsbern, who built a fort at "Guenta," which, from the description of the place as lying 14 miles from the sea which separates England from the Danes, must mean Norwich. He must have thrown up the castle mound, and built a timber fort upon it. His successor, Earl Ralph, in conjunction with the King, established on the west of the castle, in the district afterwards known as Mancroft, a New Burgh, that is, a separate municipal organisation of foreign Frenchmen or Normans. Though small in contrast with the great English burgh by the side of which it was planted, it had the castle and the Norman knights behind it, and it gradually supplanted the older burgh in civic importance. The new Norman market in Mancroft superseded the old English market on Tombland, and the King's tollhouse in the same locality became the centre of municipal administration, the predecessor of the Guildhall of later days.

In 1075 the newly erected castle was the scene of one of the only pieces of romance of which Norwich can boast. Earl Ralph, against the will of the Conqueror, married Emma, daughter of William FitzOsbern, and, with her brother, Roger, Earl of Hereford, rebelled against the King. The marriage took place at Exning, in Suffolk. Ralph brought his bride to Norwich, and there at the

"bride-ale" the foolish project was initiated. It speedily collapsed, and Ralph fled to Brittany. But Emma, his bride, gallantly held the castle with Breton troops for three months, and then was allowed to march out in safety. The King's wrath fell upon the unfortunate English burgesses, who were accused of siding with Ralph. For more than a generation the progress of the borough was retarded.

In 1094 a further eventful change took place. The episcopal seat of the diocese was removed from Thetford to Norwich by Herbert de Losinga, who founded the Cathedral and the Benedictine Monastery. This belongs rather to ecclesiastical matters, which are dealt with elsewhere. Norwich gained an access of dignity and, we may suppose, some commercial profit. But, on the other hand, the development of the borough soon brought the burgesses into collision with the privileges which successive kings granted to the monks, and endless squabbles, sometimes leading to serious riots, marked the relations of the two communities.

We must pass over one hundred years, and come to 1194. In that year King Richard I. granted to the citizens their first real charter of self-government. Thenceforward they farmed the city with its tolls and profits from the King for a perpetual rent of £108. They were no longer under any royal officer, but elected their own Reeve, who presided over their own court. From this time Norwich was called a city, and its burgesses were styled citizens. A generation later the Reeve was superseded by four Bailiffs, who sat conjointly as the executive authority of the community. Their number corresponded with the four divisions of the city, called Leets (an East Anglian word for wards)—Conesford, Mancroft, Wymer, and Ultra Aquam, or Over the Water. The second of these had been the French burgh; the other three had formed the old English burgh. Now they had all become amalgamated in one organisation.

From this time the city steadily progressed, and in spite of a very serious riot in 1272 between the monks and the citizens, in the course of which great damage was done to the cathedral and the monastic buildings, with the result that the citizens were excommunicated and heavily punished, yet at the close of the thirteenth century they had attained a high degree of prosperity, as attested by a voluminous series of municipal records relating to that period which have come down to us.

The reign of King Edward III. was marked by events of considerable moment. The King twice visited the city. In the beginning of 1341 he held a tournament here, of which we should have been glad to have an account, but none is known to be in existence. He stayed here several weeks. He was in the city again in 1344. As a result of his favour, the citizens obtained some valuable additions to their privileges. They were able to finish the fortifying of the city with a stone wall. For nearly fifty years this costly work had been in progress, the wall being erected on an earthen bank, for which license had been obtained in 1253. The final strengthening of the wall with towers and military engines was rendered possible by the enterprising munificence of a leading citizen, Thomas Spink, whose reward was exemption from rates for himself and his heirs. The King showed his appreciation for the labours of the citizens by granting them control over the "Castle Fee," which had hitherto been an area of exempt jurisdiction round the castle in the heart of the city. He also exempted them from the vexatious visits and demands of the Clerk of the Market of his Household.

Scarcely, however, had they entered on the enjoyment of their enhanced liberties than a series of fearfully destructive misfortunes fell upon them, as upon the whole country, caused by the Black Death and the severe plagues which followed it. It seems probable that the Black Death carried off about one-half of the lower class of the population, and one-third of the higher classes in

Norwich. An unfortunate misapprehension of the historian Blomefield has magnified the disaster into something utterly beyond credit. He quotes from a city memorandum book a marginal note appended to the year 1349. "In this year was such a death in Norwich, that there died of the pestilence 57,374 persons, beside religious and beggars" (Monks and Friars). He confirms this by an extract from another city book, which says that in many places scarcely one-fifth part of the people were left alive. He goes on to argue that the population of Norwich at the time must have been at least 70,000. This is, of course, incredible. The truth is, the marginal note which gives the numbers is in a book containing a list of officials from 1286 onwards, with notes of special matters of interest in the margin. The book was not compiled till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, two hundred years later, and in the note the city itself is not mentioned. The numbers, if authentic, might apply to the whole county of Norfolk. The other statement is from a portion of a monastic chronicle, which for some unknown reason is copied in a Norwich book, but makes no mention of Norwich or Norfolk.

In spite of this terrible catastrophe, the King held another tournament in Norwich in 1350.

The close of the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth centuries brought changes of great importance to the city and its future history. The economic results of the plagues just referred to led to peasant risings throughout the country. In 1381 a large body of Norfolk peasants marched towards Norwich, under the leadership of a certain John Litester, a dyer. The Bishop of Norwich, Henry Spencer, a warlike man, followed them, and at his approach, after they had done much damage to the city and extorted large sums of money from the citizens, they retired northwards, and were completely defeated by the bishop near North Walsham.

When things had settled down, the leading citizens

set themselves to carry through an entire re-organisation of both the commercial and municipal management of the city. The whole development took more than fifty years to work itself out. The general result was to transfer the government of the city from the communal assembly under the four bailiffs to an exclusive corporation of the London type. In 1404, by a charter of King Henry IV., the city was made into a county. A mayor was thenceforth to take the headship. The four bailiffs gave way to two sheriffs. An annually elected body of twenty-four citizens, which had previously existed with somewhat undefined powers, became, in 1417, a body of twenty-four aldermen, elected for life, with magisterial authority. The right of all citizens alike to take part in the meetings of the common assembly was abolished, and sixty citizens were annually elected as common councillors to represent the whole body. The gilds and trade companies also were organised, and, at least after 1450, it became necessary to join one or other of them to become a freeman of the city.

Passing over the next hundred years, we find the city in 1549, in the reign of King Edward VI., suffering serious damage from another rebellion similar to that of Litester. Kett's rebellion, as it was called, was caused partly by agrarian grievances through the enclosure of lands, especially by the new possessors of the monastic estates, and partly by religious grievances, owing to the undue haste and inconsiderate methods by which the changes of the Reformation were carried out. For some weeks the rebels, who encamped on Mousehold, held the city in their hands, doing great mischief. They were finally dispersed by the Earl of Surrey.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth there began a new era of prosperity for the citizens in connection with the woollen manufacture, in which for two or more centuries Norwich maintained a pre-eminent position in the kingdom. In the brief notice of the city here given, it is, of course,

impossible to enter into any detailed account of its woollen industry. One of the earliest of English cloths was called Worstead, after the village of that name north of Norwich. This cloth is mentioned at the close of the thirteenth century in the Norwich records. But although it was then sold, and in the early fourteenth century there was in the market a "Worsted Seld or shed," it is very doubtful whether it was to any extent manufactured in the city at that time. When the system of "staple" towns was established by Edward III., Norwich was one of them. All the cloth from the surrounding country had to be brought there and examined and sealed before being shipped at Yarmouth. The introduction of Flemish weavers into the country by this King greatly improved and encouraged the manufacture. A petition of the governing body in Norwich in 1410, asking for more authority to prevent fraud in the cloth exported, states that such fraud was likely to lead to "the total destruction alike of the merchants and of the city of Norwich, since their trade is in nothing but worsteds." Twenty-one sorts of worsted cloth are enumerated. Very scanty information as to this industry has survived throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It evidently fell into a state of complete decay. In 1565 large numbers of houses in the city were empty, the old worsted cloth being in no demand. At this time strangers from the Low Countries were taking refuge in England from their Spanish persecutors. The Norwich authorities, therefore, invited them to come and settle in Norwich, not only to re-populate the city, but to teach the native workers the methods of the "New Drapery," as it was called. They responded in large numbers, so that in 1571 a return of the aliens made by the mayor enumerates in men, women, and children then resident in the city, 3,993 persons. Of the men, 868 were Dutch-speaking, 203 were Walloons or French-speaking. For some time considerable friction arose between the native workers and the strangers, but by

degrees the improved industry established itself, and "Norwich stuffs" became famous. From time to time new fabrics and new methods were adopted. Almost to the beginning of the nineteenth century Norwich maintained a leading position in the woollen and kindred industries—Norwich shawls, crapes, and bombazines being in great demand, and the trade extending to distant countries beyond the seas. Its manufacturing importance was obliged at last to succumb to the superior advantages enjoyed by Manchester and other northern towns when steam-power was utilised and caused a complete revolution in manufacturing methods.

During all this period Norwich continued in a high state of prosperity. As is well known, Macaulay, in his description of England in 1685, selects it as standing (with Bristol) next to the city of London. "Norwich," he says, "was the capital of a large and fruitful province. It was the residence of a bishop and a chapter. It was the chief seat of the chief manufacture of the realm. Some men distinguished by learning and science had recently dwelt there; and no place in the kingdom, except the capital and the Universities, had more attractions for the curious. The library, the museum, the aviary, and the botanical garden of Sir Thomas Browne were thought by the Fellows of the Royal Society well worthy of a pilgrimage." The lavish hospitality and magnificence of the Duke of Norfolk, which he describes, were only transient. He ends by stating: "In the year 1693, the population of Norwich was found, by actual enumeration, to be between twenty-eight and twenty-nine thousand souls."

The population in 1786 had increased to over 40,000, after which it slightly decreased, being 37,256 in 1811. From this time it rapidly advanced. It began to spread beyond the old walls. The city fully shared in the wonderful development of the nineteenth century, and before its close the population had risen to more than 100,000,

of which two-thirds were outside the bounds of the old city.

Among the civic buildings of Norwich two claim especial attention—the Castle and the Guildhall. It seems strange that only in the lifetime of the present generation has the city of Norwich been able to call the castle its own. Till recently it was a piece of the county of Norfolk, as the Shire Hall is to this day. It stands on a mound of great magnitude, which has been proved to be artificial, and which, according to modern experts, was thrown up by the Normans immediately after the Conquest. It would at first be surmounted by a stockaded fort. The great stone keep was perhaps the work of Hugh Bigod, in Stephen's reign. Much work was certainly done to it in the reign of Henry II. The external facing which was carried out in the early part of last century has greatly destroyed its appearance of antiquity, but the main features were preserved. It belonged to the Crown till 1831, when it was granted to the county magistrates and used as the county gaol. The interior was gutted, and filled with prison buildings. When a new and better arranged prison was built between 1880 and 1890, the castle and surrounding buildings were purchased by the citizens, and converted into one of the finest and most important of provincial museums. In carrying out this alteration the interior prison buildings were removed, and the walls cleared of brickwork and plaster. Many interesting details of the old Norman work were thus revealed. The base of the great wall which divided the interior, the ancient well, the bases of some of the pillars which supported the floor of the great hall, the openings of the windows in the upper part of the walls, the passages which ran round the interior of the walls communicating with the staircases at two angles of the keep, these and other details may now be seen and examined by the visitor. Not the least highly appreciated is a collection of manacles

THE GUILDHALL, NORWICH.

and instruments of coercion and torture which were in use in unreformed days of prison management.

The view from the battlements furnishes an almost unique picture of a crowded English town; and in the narrow streets, the numerous church towers, and the scattered bits of foliage still remaining suggest not a little of the city's history.

The Guildhall, in the Market Place, occupies the site of an earlier building called the Tolhouse. It was erected, in place of its predecessor, about 1410. The front is a good specimen of the decorative flint work of which Norwich contains several examples. In the interior the most interesting room is the council chamber, with its early sixteenth century fittings and the portraits of many civic notabilities. The great treasure, however, is the splendid collection of civic insignia and plate. The most famous object is the "Crystal Mace," which was purchased by the city in 1550 from Mr. Augustine Stywarde, who made or re-made it about that time. Among the plate, the Reade standing salt and cover of silver-gilt, given in 1568, and the rose-water ewer and bason, presented in 1663 by the Right Hon. Henry Howard, are reckoned as exceptionally beautiful specimens of their kinds. The old dragon of St. George's Company, formerly united with the corporation, is now in the castle. It is called "Snap," because a man inside snapped its jaws at the passers-by.

One other building, St. Andrew's Hall, should perhaps be called a civic building. It was originally the Church of the Dominicans or Black Friars. At the dissolution of the monasteries it was granted to the city, and has been used ever since for various purposes. For a long time back it has been best known as the scene of the Norwich Musical Festival, held there every three years.

THE DIOCESE AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF NORWICH

By Dr. W. T. Bensly, F.S.A.

UNTIL the year 1837 the diocese of Norwich comprised the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk and part of Cambridgeshire, an aggregate of about 1,350 parishes in four archdeaconries. By an Order in Council, dated 13th April, 1837, the western part of Suffolk and sixteen parishes in Cambridgeshire were taken from it and added to the diocese of Ely. At the present time the diocese of Norwich comprises the whole of the county of Norfolk, and more than half of the county of Suffolk. It contains nearly 900 benefices and 1,137 parishes, arranged in forty-one rural deaneries and the four archdeaconries of Norwich, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lynn.

From the peculiar position of East Anglia, which to a great extent separated it from the rest of England, its people were for some time but little affected by the landing of Augustine, A.D. 597. In the days of King Sigebert, the conversion of the East Angles by Felix, a Burgundian missionary, took place. He was consecrated A.D. 630 as the first Bishop of Dunwich (then a flourishing seaport in Suffolk). Fursey, a Celtic monk from Ireland, greatly assisted him in his work of evangelization. The See was divided during the episcopate of Bishop Bisi, A.D. 673, into two parts, Elmham and Dunwich. After the Danes had made havoc of the churches, the See of Dunwich appears to have been

merged in that of Elmham; afterwards, the Episcopal See was at Thetford, and finally was removed to Norwich.

Herbert de Losinga (or de Lorraine), who had been prior of Fécamp, in Normandy, was brought to England by King William Rufus, and was appointed Bishop of Thetford in 1091. He transferred the See to Norwich in 1094, and laid the first stone of the cathedral church on the Cowholme there in 1096, the year in which the first Crusade began. He stationed a small body of monks in St. Leonard's Priory overlooking the site of the Cathedral, and entrusted them with the duty of carrying on the work of building. Some of his letters which are extant show with what vigour and determination he urged them to press on the work. "Wherefore, my well-beloved sons, take heart again; persist untiringly in your work; let not your hand or your foot rest; shiver in winter's cold, swelter under summer's sun; toil by day, watch by night. Gird yourselves for your work."

He also founded a Benedictine priory on the south side of the cathedral for sixty monks, and endowed the same.

Beginning at the extreme east end of the church, Herbert is said to have built the presbytery, with its procession paths and three radiating apsidal chapels (viz., the Lady Chapel, Jesus Chapel, and St. Luke's Chapel), the choir, including therein a portion of the nave as far as the altar of the Holy Cross (where was afterwards the altar of St. William of Norwich, near the present choir door), the lowest stage of the central tower, and the transepts with their eastern chapels. The cathedral church was consecrated on the 24th of September, 1101, in the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His successor, Bishop Eborard (1121-45), built the remainder of the nave and the upper story of the central tower.

During the episcopate of Bishop Turbe, the church was greatly injured by an accidental fire in the year

1171, but by his exertions it was repaired within two years. His successor, John of Oxford (1175-1200), built the infirmary of the monks, and completed the church and the conventual buildings.

The cathedral, the erection of which occupied the best part of a century, is therefore in its origin a pure Norman church. It has undergone very little alteration in its essential parts, and it is the only cathedral in England which retains its Norman procession paths and radiating chapels.

The Norman work of the cathedral was, as before mentioned, of different dates. This is shewn by the chevron or zigzag ornaments over the arches of the triforium in the western parts, while at the eastern, which were the oldest parts, there is no trace of these ornaments. The work of adding them appears to have been commenced at the west end of the nave. A tragic event in connection with this work is recorded in King's *Monumenta Antiqua* (1804, vol. iv., p. 148). On the south side, near the organ, there was one arch in part finished with such ornaments and in part unfinished, wherein (even until the repairs of the church about 1765) the very iron tool which the last workman (who fell from the scaffold and was killed) used in the days of Henry I., was left fixed in the wall.

An ancient effigy of Bishop Herbert, or of some other early bishop, still exists over the door of the north transept. Herbert died in the year 1119, and was buried before the high altar. His tomb was much injured in the Civil wars, but was restored in 1682, when an inscription was added by Prebendary (afterwards Dean) Prideaux. The tomb has since been removed, and the slab with the inscription is now in the floor.

The remains of the ancient stone throne of the bishops form one of the most interesting objects in the cathedral. The throne is situate over an arch between the two easternmost piers of the apse of the presbytery. On it the bishops sat behind the altar, and facing westwards. It

Norwich Cathedral: Door of North Transept.

was originally approached by a semi-circular flight of steps, leading up from the presbytery. In the bays on each side of the throne are the remains of the sedilia of the secular clergy, the regulars, or monks, occupying the stalls of the choir. This is the only stone throne of a bishop remaining *in situ* in England; that of Canterbury, although surpassing this by its perfect condition, has been moved from its original place. The sealed Norman altar slab in the Jesus Chapel, and the font of St. Luke's Chapel representing the Seven Sacraments, are also objects of interest.

The Confessio, or Relic Chapel, remains in a gallery on the north side of the presbytery, with a quadruple Norman vault curiously figured. In the centre of the vault is a seated figure of our Lord, and in the sections of the vault are representations of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, a bishop with St. Edmund and St. Lawrence, the Blessed Virgin and Child with St. Catherine and St. Margaret, St. Martin, St. Nicholas and St. Richard of Chichester. Adjoining this chapel on the north side was formerly the Sanctuary Men's chamber.

Between the years 1245 and 1258, Bishop Walter de Suffield demolished the Norman Lady Chapel, and replaced it with a large rectangular one, which was subsequently pulled down in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The beautiful Early English arch of the doorway happily remains.

The Bauchun Chapel of Our Lady of Pity, now used as the Consistory Court, on the south, and St. Andrew's Chapel (since demolished) on the north side of the presbytery, were fourteenth century additions. The stone vaulting of the Bauchun Chapel, richly adorned with sculptured bosses, was erected about a century later.

The cloister was originally Norman. Traces of Norman work exist within its walls; a few beautifully carved twin-capitals, of the same style, which had been used in building the buttresses, have recently been

discovered during repairs of the cloister, and are preserved in the Cathedral Museum. Excavations made in 1889 on the site of the Chapter House, on the east side of the cloister, led to the discovery of the semi-circular apse of the original Norman Chapter House. On the south side of the cloister was the frater or refectory. A range of Norman windows remains on the north side. South of the frater may be seen some of the columns of the infirmary, which was pulled down in 1806.

In 1272, during the episcopate of Roger de Skerning, the cathedral and the great clocher (a detached campanile which stood to the south-west of the cathedral, and close to the site of the present Erpingham gate), the Guest Chamber and other offices of the monastery were set on fire during a fracas between the monks and the citizens of Norwich; the monastery was plundered, and some of the records and furniture were destroyed. The Norman cloister, the south-west gate of the monastery, and the church of St. Ethelbert, were also destroyed. The citizens were condemned by King Edward I. to pay 3,000 marks towards the repairs. The cathedral, having been restored, was re-dedicated in the year 1278 by Bishop Middleton, in the presence of Edward I., Queen Eleanor, and many nobles. It is generally supposed that the present St. Ethelbert gate of the cathedral precinct, and probably also the water gate by the river side, were built by means of the fine levied on the citizens.

In 1362, during a violent hurricane, the wooden spire on the central tower was blown down, and the roof and Norman clerestory of the presbytery were greatly injured. Bishop Percy, with the aid of subscriptions from the clergy of the diocese, is said to have built the present graceful clerestory and the spire.

After the destruction of the Norman cloister in 1272, the present cloister, one of the most beautiful in England, and exhibiting good specimens of the Decorated and Perpendicular styles, was begun in 1297, and finished in

Norwich Cathedral: The "Relick Chapel" and Jesus Chapel.

1430. The vaulted roof of the cloister is richly adorned with carved stone bosses, containing subjects from the Gospels and the Apocalypse, and Legends of Saints.

There are two doorways from the church to the cloister. The Early English prior's door, which has above it seven canopied effigies, is at the north-east corner of the cloister. In the east alley is the walled-up doorway of the slype which led to the monks' cemetery, now called Life's Green (mors janua vitæ?). Further south is the entrance to the chapter house, which was destroyed early in Queen Elizabeth's reign. A stone on the north side of the entrance is thus incised: "Ricardus Uphalle hujus operis inceptor me posuit." Further south is the entrance to the monks' dorter, now walled up. At the end of the east alley is the "Dark Entry," with its Norman barrel vault. At the west end of the south alley is the entrance to the frater, and close by in the west alley are the lavatories, and near them the entrance to the strangers' hall, an Early English building, of which a few remains exist. At the end of this alley is the locutory of the monastery (now used as the choristers' schoolroom), in which good Norman and Early English work may be seen.

In 1381, in the reign of Richard II., a rebellion broke out in Norfolk; John Litester, a dyer of Norwich, being the leader. Henry Despencer, the warlike Bishop of Norwich, having gathered together a number of local knights and their dependents, attacked and defeated the rebels near North Walsham, captured their leader, and, after having received his confession, granted him absolution and ordered him to be hanged. A beautiful painted tabula, or reredos, with banners of the arms of some of the knights who joined the standard of the bishop, is preserved in the cathedral. It may have been given as a thank-offering for the suppression of the insurrection.

The Erpingham gate of the cathedral precinct, opposite to the west front of the cathedral, was built about 1420 by Sir Thomas Erpingham, a distinguished citizen of

Norwich. On the west front is a kneeling effigy of Sir Thomas. The jamb and arch mouldings contain richly sculptured figures on brackets, the arms of himself and his two wives, and the family motto, "yenk" (think), on labels. He was a Knight of the Garter, and procured from Henry IV. a charter by which the citizens of Norwich were enabled to elect a mayor and two sheriffs. He commanded the archers at the battle of Agincourt, and is one of the characters in Shakespeare's *Henry V.*

Bishop Alnwick (1426-36) remodelled the west front of the cathedral. The present large west window of the nave was added by his executors. It is now filled with stained glass in memory of Bishop Stanley (1837-49). Bishop Lyhart (1446-72) erected the present roof of the nave, with its magnificent lierne stone vaulting, in the place of the Norman wooden roof, which was probably much injured by fire in 1463.

It is richly adorned with carved bosses, illustrating Scripture history from the Creation to the Last Judgment. These sculptures are most ably described by the late Dean Goulburn in *The Ancient Sculptures in the Roof of Norwich Cathedral.*

Bishop Goldwell (1472-99) erected the stone vaulting and flying buttresses of the presbytery. His rebus, a gold well, is to be seen on the bosses. On the south side of the presbytery is his tomb with a recumbent effigy of the bishop clad in ecclesiastical vestments, the outer robe being a processional cope, instead of the usual chasuble. Bishop Nix (1501-36) constructed the stone vaulting of the transept—the sculptured bosses of which represent various scenes in the life of our Lord.

Many of the Bishops of Norwich have occupied high positions in the state as well as in the church.

The last bishop, the revered Bishop Pelham, wisely and firmly administered his large diocese from 1857 to 1893. His successor, Bishop Sheepshanks, is an energetic prelate, who spares no pains in visiting and animating

The Erpingham Gate, Norwich.

St. Ethelbert's Gate, Norwich.

all parts of the diocese, ably assisted by his two suffragans, the Bishops of Thetford and Ipswich.

The Benedictine priory was replaced at the suppression by a dean and chapter. The cathedral church is of new foundation; the last prior was made the first dean.

Since the Reformation, works of repair and attempted restoration of the church have been made, but not always in the best taste. In recent times, owing to the munificence of the late Dean Goulburn, and the energy of the present dean (Dr. Lefroy) in raising funds, considerable works of reparation have been carried out in a strictly conservative spirit.

The choir and transept were re-opened in 1894 for divine service by Archbishop Benson, who occupied on that occasion the ancient stone throne of the Norman bishops. In 1896 the octocentenary of the foundation of the cathedral was appropriately celebrated.

The length of the nave from the west door to the entrance of the choir is 204 feet, and the length of the whole church is 411 feet; the breadth of the nave and aisles is 72 feet; the height of the nave 72 feet, of the presbytery 83 feet; the height of the spire from the ground is 315 feet.

THE PARISH CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF NORWICH

By the Rev. W. Hudson, F.S.A.

THE multitude of its parish churches is, and always has been, one of the most striking features of the city of Norwich. Domesday Book mentions twenty-five, and there may even then have been others. Perhaps the most remarkable testimony to the number of Norwich parishes in early times is to be found in a municipal document—the "Leet," or Police Roll of 1288. There we find offences being presented to the court by jurors drawn from forty-six parishes within the city. Besides these, there were others in exempt districts not subject to the jurisdiction of the court, and a few had been absorbed by the friars in their enclosures, or for other reasons had ceased to exist. Altogether, in the thirteenth century, there were well over fifty parishes with their churches and separate parochial organisations. It is fairly certain that all these churches were founded either before or within a generation or two after the Norman Conquest. This manifestation of religious zeal was not, of course, due to the town being the seat of a bishopric, for almost all the churches must have been there when the See was removed to Norwich in 1096. It must have been the spontaneous action of Angles, Danes, and Normans. The early population was very large compared with that of other towns, and that fact may perhaps account to some extent for the number of the churches. The people were accustomed to combine

themselves in small tithing associations, and they may have combined in a similar manner for spiritual and ecclesiastical purposes. Domesday Book tells us that in the time of King Edward the Confessor, "the burgesses held 15 churches, to which belonged in alms 181 acres of land and meadow." There were then 1,320 burgesses, and it is to be remembered that they did not occupy even the limited space afterwards enclosed within the walls. They lay chiefly along the river banks in the districts called Conesford, Fishergate, Colgate, Westwick, and Coslany. Along this line were churches dedicated to St. Edward, St. Etheldred, St. Julian, St. Vedast, St. Cuthbert, St. Swithin, St. Margaret, St. Edmund, all indicative of a pre-Norman origin. The churches were, of course, small, and built of timber. Many of them would doubtless be destroyed in 1004, when Sweyn "altogether wasted and burned the burgh." But they would easily be rebuilt, especially as Canute afterwards gave an order that the churches destroyed by his father should be restored. Though the Danes appear to have been the authors of the great expansion of the burgh in the eleventh century, and left their mark in the names of most of the streets, the only distinctively Danish dedication is that of St. Olave, in Fibriggate.

The influence of the Norman Conquest on the ecclesiastical history of Norwich was in its final effect most unfortunate. The religious zeal of the Normans manifested itself largely in the establishment of religious houses, especially in Norwich of the great Benedictine monastery with the cathedral. To it and to other such houses, within the city and without, the endowments of the greater portion of the parochial churches, whether newly built or previously existing, became after a few generations permanently alienated. This alienation was painfully evident by the middle of the thirteenth century. In the taxation of Walter, Bishop of Norwich, in 1254, the average value of a benefice throughout the diocese

was £10. But in the city of Norwich twenty-nine churches are collectively valued at only £38 13s. 4d., of which £6 are alienated portions belonging to a few outside religious houses. The alienations absorbed by the cathedral monastery are not mentioned. In addition to these twenty-nine meagrely provided benefices, the monks of Bury, who copied the document later in the century, give the names of at least twenty-six more parish churches which were not taxed on account of their poverty. From this disastrous condition the Church in Norwich has never recovered. Needless to say, at the Reformation the alienated endowments were not restored. Tithes and periodically expected offerings in former days did a great deal, and then Church rates afforded some compensation while they lasted. Now that these last have gone, the preservation of the more than thirty churches which still survive within the city walls, and the maintenance of church work in the parishes under the unfavourable conditions of modern urban life, are matters of great and increasing difficulty.

It is right to add that as the better classes of the population have migrated to the suburbs, and large masses of working people have occupied the whole circuit of the city, new churches have sprung up less hampered by the difficulties which encompass their ancient sisters.

The prevailing architecture of the existing churches is Perpendicular, a large amount of rebuilding and reparation having been done in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The earlier styles are represented by details which have survived here and there. The church of St. Julian in King Street has a tower reputed to be Saxon, a Norman south doorway, and Norman details in the tower. The adjoining church of St. Etheldred has a Norman doorway. So has St. Michael at Thorn-in-Berstreet. In the east wall of St. John, Timberhill, is some long and short work. St. Benedict's has a round tower of early but uncertain date. But, on the whole,

the churches of Norwich can only be described as Perpendicular. A brief notice of any special features of interest is all that can here be attempted.

The church of St. Peter Mancroft, in the Market, stands unquestionably in the first place. The original church was founded shortly after the Conquest by Earl Ralph, and it was soon afterwards granted by the Conqueror to Wala. one of his chaplains, who gave both himself and the church to the abbey of St. Peter of Gloucester. It remained in the patronage of the abbey till the latter part of the fourteenth century, when, through the influence of several leading citizens, it was transferred to the college of St. Mary-in-the-Fields. During the next half-century the present magnificent building was erected. Its chief external feature is its remarkably fine tower. The font is surmounted by an interesting canopy, which has been a good deal altered. Close to it, on the wall, is a large piece of tapestry, marked 1573. The communion plate is exceptionally fine. At the east end, behind the high altar, there was, before the Reformation, a double vestry, one chamber below the other. In these two vestries were kept the vestments, plate, and ornaments of the church. An inventory of the contents of these vestries, published in the fourteenth volume of *Norfolk Archæology*, gives an astonishing picture of the wealth lavished on Church worship in the early sixteenth century. The value of the goods of this church declared to Edward VI.'s commissioners in 1552 was just short of £200, equal to about £3,000 at the present day. The church of St. Andrew, another fine specimen of Perpendicular architecture, had goods valued at more than £96.

The church of St. Giles, notable for its lofty tower and the elegant parapet on the south porch, and that of St. Stephen, with its beautiful hammer-beam roof, are monuments of the munificence of the citizens of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The same may be said of the two churches of St. Mary Coslany, and St. Michael

Coslany, over the river. The latter is famous for the splendid specimen of ornamental flint-work in a chantry built by Robert Thorp in the reign of Henry VII.

Of pre-Reformation relics there are not very many preserved. The church of St. Gregory has, in this respect, been more fortunate than its neighbours. It possesses a brass eagle-lectern, dated 1493; an embroidered bier-cloth; a cope of crimson velvet, used as an altar-cloth; and a well-known brass scutcheon of fourteenth century work, which is regarded as a sanctuary knocker. The ring, to be grasped by the fugitive seeking sanctuary, is lost. The church of St. Michael at Plea has some painted panels of the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and other subjects.

The church of St. John Maddermarket is perhaps the most noticeable for the number and character of its monuments. In this parish was the palace of the Dukes of Norfolk, and in 1563, Margaret Duchess of Norfolk, who died there, was buried in the church with great pomp.

The name of this last-mentioned church carries us back to some early time when a market must have been held here for the sale of madder or blue dye. Though the city records go back to the middle of the thirteenth century, no such market is mentioned, which must have been there still earlier. A similar story attaches to the name of the church of St. Peter Permountergate, or, as it is now more correctly written, Parmentergate, in King Street. It was in the street or Danish "gate" of the Parmenters, who appear to have been workers of leather already tanned in the country. In the thirteenth century they had been replaced by tanners who carried on their occupation in the city. The name gradually passed from "de Parmentergate" to "Permontergate," and then to "per Mountergate." Then a legend was invented that it meant "by the gate at the foot of a mount." Finally "Mountergate" alone was left, and as a last development a vicar had a letter addressed to him

at "St. Mountergate Vicarage, Norwich." Thus history grows out of corruption.

From the parish churches we pass to the *Religious Houses*. The total number of these was very large, but many of them were of no great importance. They may be roughly classified under four heads: Priories of Regular Monks, Convents of the Four Orders of Friars, Colleges of Secular Canons, Hospitals.

1.—The *Regular Monks* were represented by one house only, the great *Benedictine Monastery* attached to the *Cathedral*. Next to the bishop, the Prior of Norwich was by far the most influential ecclesiastical person in the city. Within his enclosed precinct he permitted no interference from the citizens, and outside, in the districts of Holmstrete, Tombland, and other places, he claimed jurisdiction, which was vigorously disputed by the citizens. To a great extent the prior and monks were certainly in the right. Their rights had been granted and confirmed long before King Richard I. granted the city to the citizens in 1194. As might be expected, the citizens finally proved themselves the stronger party. By Cardinal Wolsey's agreement in 1524, the monks renounced their claims outside the close. The internal exemption, however, continued to be the subject of controversy when at the Reformation a dean and chapter took the place of the prior and monks. But in course of time matters were more amicably arranged, and only slight relics remain of the divided jurisdiction of earlier times.

Besides the Cathedral, which has been separately noticed, the monks possessed all the necessary monastic buildings which were arranged after the usual custom of the Benedictine Order. They lay, chiefly, round three sides of the cloister, and some remains of most of them may still be traced. On the east the elegant gates in the cloister passage led to the Chapter House, which has entirely gone. The Deanery marks the site of the Prior's lodge,

and the columns standing outside the south-east of the cloister formed part of the Infirmary. Along the south side was the Refectory, some beautiful details of which may be seen in the garden of the house now occupied by Archdeacon Crosse. The picturesque ruin open to view on the west side is said to have been part of the Guest Hall.

From the first the busy community enclosed themselves with a stone wall, and their chief entrance was from Tombland. Where exactly it was before the great riot of 1272 is doubtful. At that time many of the monastic buildings on the west side of the enclosure were burnt, including a "Clocher" which stood opposite to the west front of the Cathedral. A small church of St. Ethelbert was also burnt, and on the spot the citizens were ordered to build the gateway which bears that name. The more northerly gate was built at a later time by Sir Thomas Erpingham, one of the heroes of Agincourt. Just inside this gateway is a building which strangely links the present with the past. The Grammar School, full of vigorous young life, began its career as a last resting-place for the bones of the dead. In the fourteenth century a bishop, wishing to include an old cemetery in his private ground, removed the bones to a carnary crypt on the west of the Cathedral. Above it he built a chapel (the Grammar School) in which masses for the souls of the deceased were to be said by chaplains for whom he erected the house now occupied by the Principal of the school.

2.—Next to the cathedral monks, the most important bodies of ecclesiastics in the city were the *Friars*. Some small bodies of friars existed here at the beginning of the movement, but we may confine ourselves to the four great orders, all of whom had establishments on an extensive scale.

The first to arrive were the *Dominicans* or *Black Friars*, in the early part of the reign of King Henry III.

Their first settlement was on the northern side of the river in Colegate. During the fourteenth century they gradually acquired the land on the southern side of the river where they afterwards built their church and conventual buildings. At the Reformation the citizens petitioned for and obtained these buildings from the King, and considerable portions of them remain to the present day. Of the first church which they built on their new site, only a portion is left, in the form of a fourteenth century crypt under St. Andrew's Hall. The rest of it was allowed to be recklessly demolished for transient business purposes not a generation ago. About 1415 they set to work, with the assistance of Sir Thomas Erpingham, to build a more magnificent church, which happily survives as the well-known St. Andrew's Hall, with its adjunct called the Black Friars' Hall, the former having been the nave, the latter the chancel, of the conventual church. Between the two was formerly an hexagonal tower, which fell in 1712. Every visitor to Norwich knows St. Andrew's Hall, with its portraits of Norwich worthies, especially that of Nelson, and the captured flag which he presented to the city. A great many know it, under less favourable circumstances as regards the building, when it has been transformed into a great concert hall at the recurrence of the Norwich Musical Festival. Since its acquisition by the corporation, it has been used for various secular purposes, having for a long time been called the New Hall, as distinguished from the older Guildhall.

The chancel of the church, after some other uses, was granted to the Dutch strangers in the city for a place of worship, and till quite recent times was called the Dutch Church. It is now used as a convenient increase of accommodation to the greater hall.

Between St. Andrew's Hall and the river were the cloisters and other conventual buildings. The former are included in the premises of the Commercial School. Very little of the latter now remains.

The *Franciscans*, Friars Minor, or *Grey Friars*, settled about the middle of the thirteenth century on the east of King Street, in the district now traversed by the upper part of Prince of Wales' Road. Like the monks and the other bodies of friars, they had an extensive space of ground, which they gradually acquired, and finally enclosed in a stone wall, portions of which remain in the neighbourhood of the Horse Fair. Close to that spot, at the back of the houses in North Cathedral Street, is the only other remaining relic of their occupation—a bridge of fourteenth century construction, now hidden under the road. It crossed a ditch which ran from the back of the Boys' Home through a meadow of Messrs. Hills and Underwood to the river. Here the Grey Friars had their fish-ponds inside their enclosure. Outside, they had license to fish, using eight feet of the bank on either side. Their church and buildings were on the same scale as those of the Black Friars. They had also a favourite burial-ground called the Pardon Cloister, where many leading citizens were interred.

The *Austin Friars* had a similar enclosure further down King Street, between the churches of St. Peter Parmentergate and St. Julian, on the eastern side of the road. They were more fortunate than the Grey Friars in having immediate access to the river, and an arch forming part of their water-gate is, as in the former case, their only relic. They absorbed and rebuilt an old church of St. Michael-in-Conesford. They transformed it into a church of large proportions, the great feature of which was a window formed by Sir Thomas Erpingham. In it were represented the arms of some eighty lords, barons, and knights who had died without male issue between the coronation of Edward III. (1327) and the date of the work (1419). These friars had a chapel of "Scala Cœli," a visit to which procured the same privileges as a visit to the chapel of Scala Cœli in a convent outside the walls of Rome, where St. Bernard, like Jacob, was blessed with a vision of a ladder reaching from earth to heaven.

The fourth order of friars, the *Carmelites* or *White Friars*, were on the other side of the river, in the parish of St. James. Though they occupied a fairly large tract of ground, their buildings do not seem to have been of so important a character as those of their brethren. For some reason, however, as yet unexplained, they were in special favour with the city rulers. At their petition, the mayor and corporation consented in 1486 to be styled their patrons.

3.—A small *College* of *Secular Canons* existed on the north side of St. Peter Parmentergate Church, in King Street. They were connected with the Hospital of Bec, in Billingford, Norfolk, and are reputed to have occupied stalls in the adjoining parish church. But beyond the fact that the site is described in deeds as "formerly the College," nothing is known about them.

The *College of St. Mary-in-the-Fields* was in some respects (next to the priory) the most noticeable ecclesiastical institution in the city. Its early history is rather obscure. It is said to have been founded about 1250 as a hospital, but very shortly afterwards it appears as a college, with a dean and prebends (or canons), to whom were subsequently added chantry chaplains and other priests. Its site was on the west of St. Stephen's Church. After the Dissolution, it came into the hands of the Hobart family, and is now occupied by the High School for Girls. It was largely endowed, chiefly by gifts from leading citizens, especially in the latter part of the fourteenth century, when it is stated to have been much hampered by insufficient income. Its great interest consists in the close connection which (perhaps even from the first) existed between it and the civic municipality. When the surviving records of the City Assembly begin in 1365, we find its chapel used as the place where the whole community of the citizens met once a year to elect their chief officers—the four bailiffs. About that time, also, the city records were kept in the college. The reason

for this connection has hitherto been unexplained. But some recent researches by Mr. Tingey, of Norwich, now being made public in *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xvi., seem to indicate that the link is to be found in a Gild of the Annunciation, called the "Great Gild" of Norwich. This Gild was attached to St. Mary's College, and was possibly identical with a Gild called the "Bachery" or "Bachelery," mentioned in the civic controversies of the early fifteenth century, where it is accused of being in mischievous collusion with the ruling body.

4.—The *Hospitals* of Norwich, under which title are included all kinds of charitable foundations, were numerous, sixteen being entered in Taylor's *Index Monasticus for the Diocese of Norwich.* Most of these were, of course, small and unimportant. Mention may be made of *Norman-spitel*, founded in the middle of the twelfth century by a monk named Norman for poor persons. It was dedicated to St. Paul, and is now St. Paul's parish. It was under the control of the Prior of Norwich, whose quarrels with the citizens about exempt jurisdiction there gained it a notoriety it might otherwise not have obtained.

Magdalen Hospital, about one mile outside Magdalen Gates, was also a very early foundation; the work of Herbert, the first bishop. It is called a house for lepers, a word which included every variety of cutaneous diseases. Some portions of the Norman chapel still exist in a farm-building by the roadside. The hospital was chiefly known from a fair held close by, and attended by the mayor and civic officials in state procession.

The one hospital which far outstripped all the others was that called "*God's House in Holmstrete*" (Bishopsgate Street). It was founded by Bishop Walter Suffield in 1249 for poor chaplains and other poor persons, and attached to it was a small body of secular chaplains. It soon became very wealthy, and was endowed with large possessions in the city and the county. At the Reformation it was confiscated, but, as an inscription tells

us, was refounded by Kings Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth as a secular hospital for old men and women. As one way of effecting this object, the chancel of the church was divided by a floor at half its height into two wards. The ample revenues of the foundation sufficed to carry on educational work, and first the Grammar School and afterwards a Commercial School have been and still are supported from them. The greater part of its buildings are, happily, still preserved, in spite of much alteration, and are second to no similar buildings in the whole country. They include the picturesque ivy-clad tower of the church; the two wards formed out of the chancel, with cosy chimney-nooks at either end and cubicles down the middle; the roof of the upper ward decorated with eagles, thought to be the emblem of Queen Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II. Outside is a quaint little cloister, still retaining much of its original features.

THE CIVIC PLATE, REGALIA, ETC., OF THE NORFOLK BOROUGHS

WITH BRIEF NOTICES ON THE NORFOLK GUILDS OF SILVERSMITHS

BY E. ALFRED JONES

Castle Rising

THE only insignia of this ancient, but now defunct, Corporation known to the writer is an old silver mace of fifteenth century type.[1]

Great Yarmouth

The earliest object among the civic plate and insignia of this borough is the fine "sword of justice," of the reign of Charles II., with hilt, guard, and pommel of silver-gilt, 54 inches long. On one side of the unusually large pommel is a figure of Justice, and on the other, a figure of Law, both in high relief; the hilt is spirally fluted, while the guard ends in lions' heads, with a large rose on each side between the quillons. On the massive mount at the mouth of the crimson velvet scabbard are the royal arms, crown, supporters, etc., as well as acanthus foliage; on either side of the chape is a crowned rose, and one of the mounts has a rose slipped and crowned, and the other the Yarmouth arms.

[1] Illustrated in *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xii., p. 164. "Castle Rising: Its Castle and Borough," by E. M. Beloe.

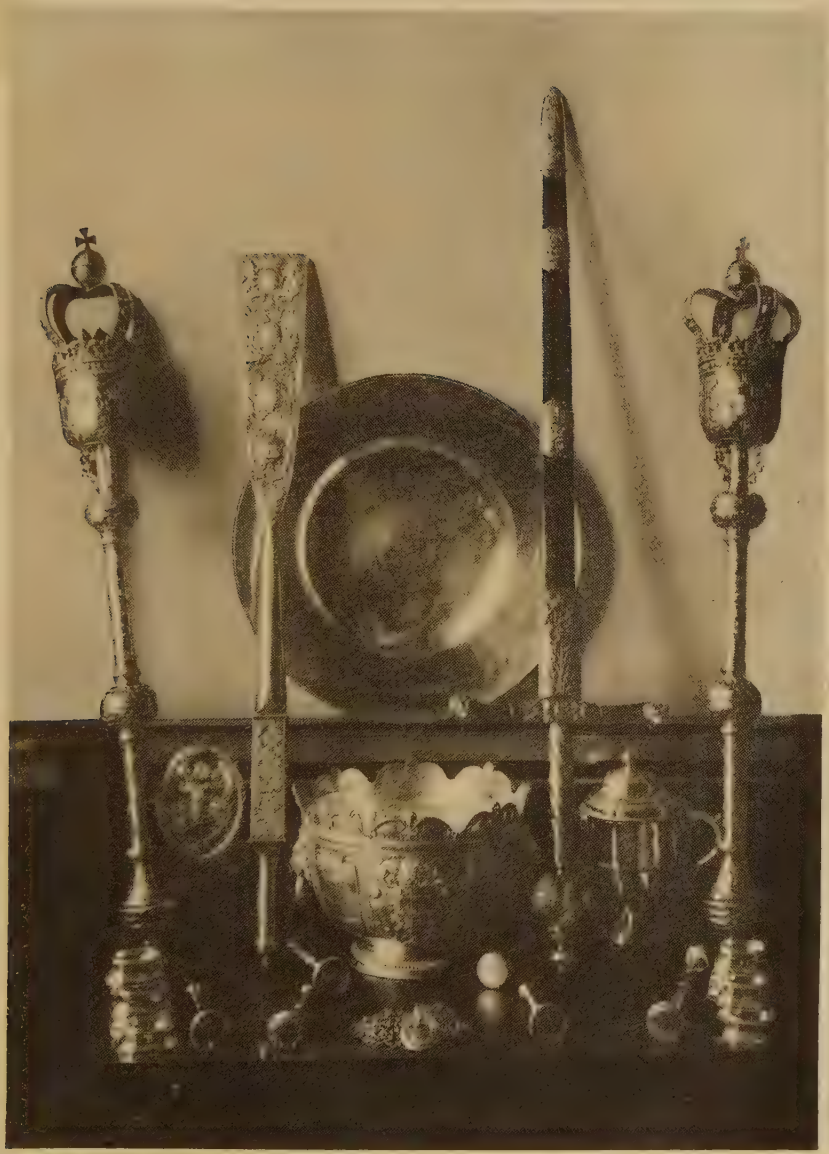


PLATE I.—THE INSIGNIA AND PLATE OF THE BOROUGH OF YARMOUTH.

The two large silver-gilt maces, 44 inches long, with the royal arms and monogram of William and Mary, are of the same type as the mace of the House of Commons and the King's Lynn maces, and they bear the London date-letter for 1686-87, with the mark of the maker, Anthony Nelme. In addition to these, there are six small silver maces, with semi-globular heads. The largest, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, has a cresting of *fleurs-de-lis*, now much battered. This was made by an unknown Norwich silversmith for the Marshal of Admiralty, in 1562, from some "silver articles."[1] Four of these are sergeants' maces, varying in length from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and they date from the Restoration period. The sixth mace, 7 inches long, of silver-gilt, of the same period as the last, is borne by the mayor as a personal symbol of authority.

The last among the insignia is the remarkably large silver-gilt oar (43 inches long), symbolical of the Admiralty jurisdiction of this borough, which was granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1559. In processions it is carried behind the maces, which are preceded by the sword. One side of the blade is plain, while the other is decorated in relief with the royal arms, a trophy of flags, dolphins, etc., surrounding the Admiralty shield of an anchor; the arms of the borough; and the arms of Samuel Killett, who presented it in 1745, the year before he became mayor of Yarmouth. It has the London date-letter for 1745-46.

The plate consists of a plain rose-water dish, of silver-gilt, with the town arms engraved in the centre, and the name of the donor, George Morse, a resident, made in London in 1664-65, which is similar to the Maundy dish, of four years earlier, at the Tower of London[2]; a valuable and important example of a silver monteith punch-bowl, with a scalloped movable rim, decorated with panels formed of hollow scrolls with foliage tops, two lion mask

1 Manship's *History of Great Yarmouth*, Ed. by C. J. Palmer, F.S.A., 1854, p. 361.

2 E. Alfred Jones' *The Old Plate of the Tower of London*, 1908.

handles, and embellished in the centre with the arms of the borough in relief, surmounted by a lion's head. On the other side are the names of the donors. It is of London make of the year 1698-99, by Isaac Dighton. Bowls of this kind were highly popular in England from about 1695 to 1710. The plain, two-handled loving-cup, belonging to the Corporation, was obtained in 1737 in exchange for some plate presented by the donor of the rose-water dish. No fewer than eleven plain trencher salt cellars, octagonal in shape, of the reign of George I., dated 1725-26, are in the possession of the borough, in addition to a large number of old rat-tail and other spoons (Plate I.).

King's Lynn

This ancient borough can boast the possession of not only the oldest and most important, but also the most beautiful, specimen of civic plate in England, in the superb cup and cover, familiarly, though erroneously, known as "King John's cup," from the supposition that it was presented to the town of Lynn by that monarch. It dates, however, from the reign of Edward III.

This magnificent example of the goldsmiths' art is of massive silver-gilt, with a bell-shaped bowl divided by foliage into five panels, each containing a male figure in the lower half, and a female in the upper, holding symbols of the chase, and standing amongst foliage and flowers. These human figures, which are partially enamelled, stand against a background of beautiful translucent enamel in dark blue, green and purple. The bowl is supported on a high stem fashioned like a pentagonal Gothic shaft with capital and base, divided by a large pentagonal knop, enamelled in blue. The upper part of the flat, spreading foot is decorated with panels and figures similar to those on the bowl, while the lowest section, pentagonal in shape, is fashioned with exquisite tracery with dogs chasing hares and other animals, in silver and translucent

King's Lynn.

Plate II.—Standing Cup of Silver-gilt, Enamelled, of the reign of Edward III.

enamel. Inside the bowl, at the bottom, is a print with a figure of a lady, formerly enamelled. The cover has a rich cresting of leaf-work, and is divided into five panels with enamelled figures similar to those on the bowl and foot; it is surmounted by a knop of leaf-work, crowned by a ball and spike added later. The total height is 15 inches (Plate II.). Some authorities have claimed a French origin for this cup, but the balance of opinion among connoisseurs, including distinguished French experts, is that it is of English workmanship.

Its traditional association with King John may have saved it from the fate of so much mediæval plate, and it was spared from the crucible. Its great importance is emphasised by the fact that it was specially sent to the Lord Treasurer in London on the 7th May, 1595, for his inspection. It is devoutly to be hoped that this exquisite cup will be used as little as possible, or, better still, not used at all, and thus spare it from the risk of further damage.

The Corporation plate also includes a fine standing cup and cover, of silver-gilt, 30 inches high, with the bowl, cover and foot covered with large plain lobes, and the stem decorated with knops and scrolls, the cover being surmounted by a vase containing flowers. This German cup, which was made at Nuremberg early in the seventeenth century, was presented in 1635 by Thomas Soame, who was thrice Mayor of Lynn.

The superb sword of state, of the reign of Henry VIII., measuring 3 feet $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, is a highly important example. The hilt is covered with silver-gilt wire and has a pear-shaped pommel wrought in panels chased with foliage in silver-gilt. It has an inscription to the effect that it was given by King John—which is, however, a mistake, for the sword is certainly not earlier than the reign of Henry VIII. The sheath, covered with crimson velvet, is adorned with silver-gilt lockets, which have on one side (1) the arms of Henry VIII.; (2) a crowned rose:

(3) the arms of Lynn; (4) a crowned thistle; and (5) a figure of a king with a sword on the chape, which terminates in a *fleur-de-lis*. The lockets on the other side have (1) the royal arms, etc., of the Stuart Sovereigns; (2) a crowned thistle; (3) a shield with a pelican in her piety; (4) a crowned *fleur-de-lis;* and (5) on the chape, a king riding over prostrate foes. These ornaments would seem to have been added at the Restoration, when they replaced some non-regal emblems.

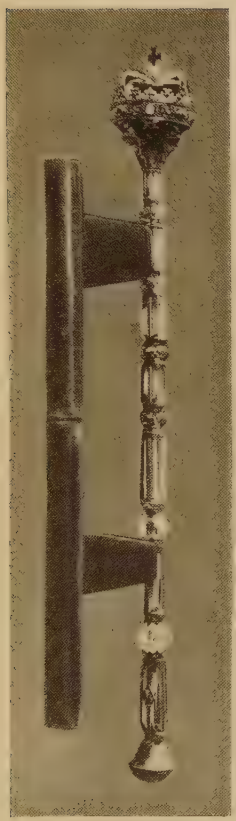
The four large silver-gilt maces, surmounted by a royal crown with the orb and cross, were re-made from older maces in 1711-12, for which years they bear the London date-letter, and the mark of the maker, Benjamin Pyne.

Two of the old silver waits' chains, made in the last half of the sixteenth century, have been joined together to form a chain for the mayor. Three other waits' chains of that date are still preserved amongst the regalia of Lynn.

Norwich

This city may well be proud of its civic plate, for it enjoys, with Portsmouth, the distinction of possessing the most valuable collection in England. A place of honour in this splendid array of plate must be assigned to the magnificent mace of crystal and silver-gilt, of the reign of Edward VI., which is 38 inches long, and is formed of a slender shaft composed of a series of seven tapering blocks of rock-crystal[1] mounted with silver-gilt straps and ends, the three lowest pieces of crystal being separated by faceted crystal bosses and the others by compressed silver-gilt bosses set with jewels. The beautiful head of the mace is formed of a coronet of eight crosses and the same number of *fleurs-de-lis*, embellished with precious stones and surmounted by arches supporting the orb and cross,

[1] Some of these have been broken and replaced by glass.



NORWICH.

TE III. No. 1.—CRYSTAL AND SILVER MACE, 1549 OR 1550.

NORWICH.

PLATE III. No. 2.—SILVER-GILT "WAIT'S" COLLAR, *circa* 1550.

while the curved underside of the head is affixed with two lions, alternate with two dragons (each holding a plain shield), which are the supporters used by Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. The original knop at the end of the mace has been replaced by a plain one. Additional value and interest are associated with this mace from the fact that, according to the city records, it was made by a Norwich silversmith, one Augustine Stywarde, in 1549 or 1550 (Plate III., No. 1).

The mace is separated in time by more than a century from the next piece of plate—the fine Elizabethan standing salt, given by Sir Peter Reade in 1568. This is cylindrical in form, 15¼ inches high and 6¼ inches in diameter, and is decorated with masks and strap-work, flowers and fruit in relief, together with three shields, originally enamelled, bearing the arms of Reade on one, those of Blennerhasset on the second, and Reade impaling Blennerhasset on the other. The high cover, in two stages similarly decorated, is surmounted by a vase-shaped pedestal crowned by a figure resting on a spear and holding a shield with the arms of the city of Norwich. The motto, "ASPERANCE IN DEO," is pounced around the upper part of the body, and this inscription on the base: "THE GYFTE OF PETAR READE ESQVIAR." This, like the mace just described, was wrought by a local silversmith, and the writer, in common with others, believes it to have been made by one of the most prominent members of the Norwich Guild, Peter Peterson. The donor of this salt, which is described as a "faire salt double gilt of the value of £20, to be used in the Maiors' houses in Norwich in time of their Maioroltie," was the son of John Rede, Mayor of Norwich in 1496. He died in 1568, and was buried in the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, and, as the inscription on his tombstone commemorates, the Order of Barbaria was conferred upon him for his services under the Emperor Charles V. at the conquest of Barbaria and at the siege of Tunis (Plate IV., No. 2).

Large Elizabethan salts of the cylindrical form are far from common. Among the most interesting that have survived are Queen Elizabeth's salt of 1572-73 in the Tower of London[1]; one of 1586-87 in the South Kensington Museum; another of nine years earlier in the Wallace collection; and one of 1584-85 in the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Earlier than these is the small one of 1554 at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

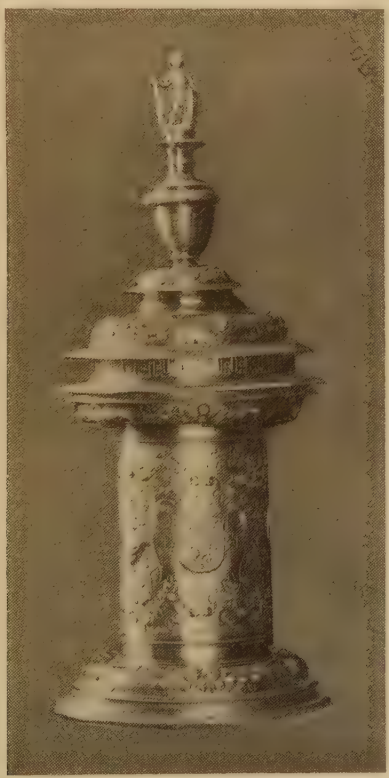
Three more examples of silversmiths' work complete the list of plate of the Elizabethan period at present in the custody of the Corporation, namely, the three silver-gilt tazza-shaped cups (Plate IV., No. 1). They have shallow circular bowls with upright sides, supported on thick baluster stems, richly fluted and decorated with repoussé work, and the spreading domed feet are ornamented with flutings, etc. The two earliest, which have the London date-letter for 1561-62, and a maker's mark, a covered cup, are inscribed on the rim in ornamental cusped letters: " + AL : MI : TRVST : IS : IN : GOD." Inside the bowls are prints with the arms and name of *John Blenerhasset.* The other cup is inscribed around the bowl in similar lettering: " + THE MOST HERE OF IS DWE BY PETER PETERSON," each word being separated by a cross, while inside is a print with the arms of the city of Norwich. It is stamped with two marks—the maker's mark, an orb and cross, and the castle and lion of Norwich. According to the inscription, the whole of the cup was not fashioned by Peter Peterson himself; he was, doubtless, helped by one or more of the apprentices which this celebrated silversmith must have had. It has been generally supposed on the authority of a well-known work[2] that the Peterson cup is the earliest, and that the Blennerhasset cups were modelled from this; but, inasmuch as the latter cups have the

1 E. Alfred Jones, *The Old Plate in the Tower of London*, 1908.

2 *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of England and Wales*, by Ll. Jewitt and W. H. St. John Hope, 1895, vol. ii., p. 189.

NORWICH.

PLATE IV. NO. 1.—THREE SILVER-GILT TAZZA CUPS.
TWO WITH LONDON DATE-LETTER FOR 1561-62; THE OTHER NORWICH, *circa* 1575.



NORWICH.

PLATE IV. NO. 2.—SILVER-GILT SALT,
WITH NORWICH DATE-LETTER FOR 1567-68.

London date-letter for 1561-62, and as no plate was officially marked at Norwich before the year 1565, the Peterson cup must, therefore, have been copied from the others. The form has obviously been inspired by an early sixteenth century cup, such as those in use as Communion cups at Wymeswold, Leicestershire, and Sandwich, Kent—the former dated 1512—and the celebrated Tudor cup of 1521, which realised the high sum of £4,100 at Christie's.

From these we turn to the Jacobean rose-water dish and ewer (Plate V., No. 1), which are the most ornate vessels of their kind, of this period, in existence. The dish, $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, has a print in the raised centre representing Christ washing the Disciples' feet, surrounded by a radiating ornament of acanthus foliage. In the depression is a scene depicting Neptune and Amphitrite in chariots drawn by sea-monsters, and accompanied by tritons and nymphs, all in relief. On the rim are six medallions of sea-monsters ridden by amorini, with masks, flowers, fruit, and foliated strap-work between. The graceful vase-shape ewer, $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, is decorated under the lip with amorini, sea-monsters, and nymphs in repoussé, while the body is encircled by groups of sea-gods, nymphs, tritons and amorini riding on sea-monsters, and carrying fish, reed-maces, etc., the lower part being chased with acanthus leaves. The fine scrolled handle is formed of a female terminal figure, a dolphin, and a grotesque mask. They have the London date-letter for 1617-18, and a maker's mark, IV., with a cinquefoil below, in a shaped shield. Though made in that year, they did not come into the possession of the Corporation until 1663, when they were presented, at a cost of £60, by Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Baron Howard of Castle Rising, Earl of Norwich, and sixth Duke of Norfolk.

These are closely followed in date by another valuable specimen of Jacobean plate—the tall, silver-gilt

tankard-flagon of 1618-19 (Plate V., No. 2), which has a cylindrical body, decorated with panels of sea-monsters—an enrichment frequently seen on Jacobean plate, as, for instance, on a tankard-flagon of this type in the possession of the Czar of Russia[1]—diamond-shape divisions filled with flowers and fruit in relief, and with the arms of Norwich in the middle, near the top. The spreading, curved base is embellished with elongated hollow ornaments, etc., and the cover is treated with similar decoration to that on the body. The companion tankard-flagon is exactly similar, but was made later—in the first year of the reign of Charles I., 1625-26. These resemble in form and in some of the decorative details the fine Carolean pair of 1634-35 among the plate of the Corporation of Bristol.

In contrast to these ornate tankard-flagons is the plain pair of the same shape, but without their covers, preserved with the Corporation plate. The oldest was made in 1630-31, at a cost of £20, by an unknown Norwich silversmith, who stamped it with his mark, W.D., conjoined with an arrow-head below, and was the gift by will of Tobias de Hem, a Norwich merchant. The fellow flagon appears to have been transformed by order of the court from a salt of crystal and silver, or exchanged. It bears the London date-letter for 1634-35.

The other Carolean plate consists of four plain silver cups on baluster stems, one a little larger than the others. This latter is engraved with the Wyndham arms, and is stamped with Norwich marks for about 1630. It was converted from earlier plate given by Judge Francis Windham.[2] The other three cups, with Norwich date-letter for 1631-32, were presented by Alderman Thomas

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[1] E. Alfred Jones' *Old English Plate in the possession of the Czar of Russia.*

[2] Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, vol. iv., p. 200: "in the same church (St. Peter Mancroft) an altar tomb and bust of a judge in memory of Francis Windham, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, who was made, in 1579, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas. He died at his house here in 1592."

NORWICH.

PLATE V. No. 1.—SILVER-GILT ROSE-WATER EWER AND BASIN, 1617-18.

NORWICH.

PLATE V. No. 2.—TWO SILVER-GILT TANKARD-FLAGONS, 1618-19, 1625-26.

Spendlove, and were supplied by a well-known local craftsman, Timothy Skottowe, who was paid £19 9s. 7d. for them, at a rate of 5s. 8d. per ounce. Cups like these, with bell-shape bowls on high baluster stems, were made in large numbers at this date. The most historically interesting example is that in which Charles I. received his last Communion on the scaffold, now in the Duke of Portland's collection.

The other plate calls for no special comment. It includes tankards of 1708 and 1721, made from older gifts; gravy boats and other articles of domestic use.

The Corporation possessions other than plate are particularly interesting, including, as they do, that singular relic of ancient civic pageantry—the large "dragon," or "snap,"[1] made of wicker-work and canvas, the latter being the local name for this "modern version of the fierce dragon of mediæval times that made his periodical appearance in the famous pageant of the guild of St. George, in which the part of the saint was taken by one of the brethren and that of the lady Margaret by one of the 'sustern' of the guild"; the original city and mayoral seals, dating from the reign of Henry IV.; and the sword of state, made up of portions of different periods, mostly of the reign of Queen Anne, which resembles the swords of Thetford and Yarmouth.

This account will conclude with a brief reference to the two curious and beautiful silver-gilt "waits'" collars (Plate III., No. 2), formed of fourteen turreted castles, and the same number of lions, in allusion to the city arms, with a suspending badge in the shape of a shield with the arms of Norwich in relief. With the extinction of the picturesque "waits" or musicians of that city, these finely wrought chains, which were made about the middle of the sixteenth century, were transferred to other uses, and are now worn by the beadle and messenger.

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1 Illustrated on page 184 of Jewitt and Hope's *Corporation Plate, etc.*, vol. ii.

The two silver-gilt maces, which are of the usual type, with arched crown, like that at Great Yarmouth, were made in 1670-71 and 1734-35, and were presented by Lord Henry Howard and the celebrated statesman Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford, respectively. The three maces of St. George's Company, of ebony with silver tops—two in the form of a castle and the other of St. George and the dragon—made in London in 1704-5, are not without interest.

Norwich is not alone in the lamentable loss by melting and by the conversion of old plate into other forms to meet changes of fashion. One of the most serious losses is the Elizabethan rose-water dish and ewer given by Archbishop Parker, which were in existence in the eighteenth century. The original ewer is figured in Vol. I. of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, from which it will be noticed that it differs in many essential points from the ewer presented by that ecclesiastic to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Though Parker's puritanism was responsible for the ruthless destruction of sacramental plate throughout England, a fondness for sumptuous domestic plate was one of his characteristics, if we may judge from his splendid and costly gifts to the three Cambridge Colleges[1]—Corpus Christi, Trinity Hall, and Gonville and Caius, the gifts at the former college including the somewhat "popish" set of apostle spoons.

Thetford

The insignia of this borough, one of the oldest in England, and mentioned in *Domesday Book*, consists of a thirteenth century seal; a fine and large silver-gilt mace of the Restoration type, presented in 1678 by Joseph Williamson; two interesting sergeants' maces of silver, 18 inches long, with hemispherical heads with

[1] Illustrated in E. Alfred Jones' *The Old Plate of the Cambridge Colleges*, 1908.

coronets of crosses and *fleurs-de-lis*, which probably date from Elizabeth's charter of 1573; and by an important sword, richly decorated in the same manner as those of Great Yarmouth and Norwich, and given by the same donor as the large mace.

Only two pieces of old plate exist here: a silver-gilt covered porringer, 8¾ inches high, with London date-letter for 1697-98, and engraved "*Prosperity to Thetford*"; and a silver-gilt salver on a short foot, with gadroon borders, with same date-letter. Both were presented by James Sloane, eldest brother of the celebrated Sir Hans Sloane, Bart.

The Norwich Guild of Goldsmiths

This guild is second only to York in antiquity and importance, and surpasses it in point of quality of the plate wrought there, if judged by the standard of the existing examples produced in the sixteenth century. The craft of the goldsmith flourished exceedingly at Norwich between 1285 and 1305, no fewer than sixteen names of craftsmen who worked there during those years having been recorded. Few as are the names published in the fourteenth century, the guild continued in prosperity throughout the succeeding century. Unhappily, no single piece of mediæval plate now extant can with certainty be assigned to the hands of Norwich goldsmiths, though probably some of the mediæval silver patens in Norfolk —which is richer in these vessels than any other county in England—came from the cathedral city.

The earliest piece of plate known to have been wrought here is the magnificent crystal and silver mace, by Augustine Stywarde, of the reign of Edward VI., about 1549 or 1550, which is among the Corporation plate previously described. Happily, a goodly number of specimens of the Elizabethan period have survived to the present day. The son of a Dutch settler, Peter Peterson, apprenticed to John Basyngham, was, as is

well known, the most famous goldsmith of this time, and he it was who fashioned, so it is now confidently believed, that splendid piece of plate, Sir Peter Reade's salt; also the four interesting beakers,[1] from the old Dutch church at Norwich, which are now, unfortunately, gone from their original home. The tazza-shape cup of the Norwich Corporation came from his workshop, as did much of the sacramental plate in the neighbourhood, and, probably, the fine domestic cup at St. Andrew's, Norwich.[2]

Of the other Elizabethan goldsmiths, little of their work remains with definite ascertainable marks. The communion cup of 1569-70 at Haddiscoe was, according to the inscription thereon, the joint production of John and Robert Stone. Among other notable examples of plate of this period, exclusive of church vessels, are a standing cup of 1566-67 at South Kensington Museum, and a tiger-ware jug of 1569-70 in Mr. J. H. Walter's collection. Seal top spoons were also made at Norwich at this time, and more abundantly in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

Later plate includes very fine early Jacobean cup and cover at St. Peter Hungate, Norwich; the tall plain flagon of 1630-31, and the three cups of the next year belonging to the Corporation of Norwich, which have already been described; and a cocoanut cup of 1641-42 in the possession of the Marquis of Breadalbane.

Timothy Skottowe would seem to have been one of the best known silversmiths of the first half of the seventeenth century, and he made, among other things, a beaker, 1638, from the New Meeting Chapel at Great Yarmouth, since acquired by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

Three names of craftsmen of the middle and of the last half of the seventeenth century prominently occur—Arthur Heaslewood, maker of the communion cup, 1633,

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[1] Illustrated in *Norfolk Archæology;* and in E. Alfred Jones' *Old Sacramental Vessels of Foreign Protestant Churches in England*, 1907.

[2] Peter Peterson's will is published in *Norfolk Archæology*, xi., 259.

at Aspall, Suffolk, and of a tankard, 1669, engraved with the arms of John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, which is owned by Mr. Russell J. Colman. A little later comes Thomas Havers, who wrought the patens of 1675 and 1679 at St. Peter Hungate, and St. Peter Mountergate, Norwich, as well as a flagon of 1694 at St. Michael's at Plea in the same city. Then, finally, there is James Daniel, the author of the alms dish and basin, 1691, at St. Stephen's, Norwich.

The fashioning of plate at Norwich ceased at the end of the seventeenth, or very early in the eighteenth, century.

It is a disappointing fact that none of the Cathedral plate was wrought locally: it all bears the London marks.

The King's Lynn Goldsmiths

Mr. Jackson's invaluable work, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, has brought to light the existence of several minor guilds in England, hitherto unknown, and among these is one in Norfolk—King's Lynn—where the paten at St. Nicholas' Chapel in that town, and the cup at St. Ethelreda's, Southgate, Norwich, were wrought about the year 1640. In addition to these, there is the superb cup and cover[1] of about 1630 at Middleton Church, King's Lynn.

[1] See an illustrated article in the *Burlington Magazine*, Dec., 1907, by E. Alfred Jones.

MONASTIC NORFOLK

By the Rev. Robt. C. Nightingale

"A monk there was—
A manly man, to be an abbot able,
Full many a dainty horse had he in stable;
And where he rode men might his bridle hear
Jingling in a whistling wind as clear
And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell.
And for to fasten his hood under his chin
He had of gold wrought a curious pin;
A love-knot in the greater end there was.
His head was bald, that shone as any glass.
He was a lord full fat and in good point."

Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

NOWHERE else in England, nor perhaps anywhere else in Christendom, were so many religious houses to be found within the same sized area as there were in Norfolk, especially in the mid-western parts of the county. The Norfolk houses, indeed, almost doubled those in nearly every other English county, acreage for acreage. In England and Wales there were apparently 608 religious houses at the time of the Dissolution, of which 129 were nunneries, and 48 were preceptories of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. In Norfolk there were, out of this total for England and Wales, 15 monasteries, 11 of which were Benedictine. There were 113 houses of that order in the kingdom. In Norfolk there were 18 canons' houses and one canoness's house out of the 175 Augustine houses in England and Wales. The Norfolk friaries were 21. The total number of English and Welsh friaries was 183.

There were in Norfolk 42 hospitals, one house, at Shouldham, of Gilbertine monks and nuns, and one preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Carbrooke, the annual amount collected by whom in Norfolk was one-tenth of the whole amount annually collected by the forty-eight English and Welsh preceptories. It is strange that the peculiarly agricultural order of the Cistercians had only one house in Norfolk, and that a nunnery, at Marham, where the nuns did their planting work so well that not only did the parish become known as "Cherry Marham," but it also was everywhere famous for its walnut orchards. The trees in these orchards were cleared off to the gunmakers during the Napoleonic terror, some of them for as much as £100 each. The Cistercians had 75 houses in England.

For some reason Norfolk would not encourage women who were "in religion," much as it loved men who became devotees. In the whole county there were only five nunneries. Of course the fewness of women's houses in the county increased the over proportion of men's religious houses in Norfolk to the numbers in the counties in other parts of the kingdom. The number of religious houses in Norfolk of every kind was one hundred and fifteen.

At the time of the Dissolution there were 709 parishes in Norfolk. We may suppose the townships to have numbered 600 at the most, which gives an average of about one religious house to every five townships. The number of those who were "in religion" in the county would not be far off 750. I know of no exact statement of the total annual income of the English and Welsh religious houses at the Dissolution, but it is fairly certain that at the present value of money it was £1,650,000. As the Norfolk houses numbered rather less than one-fifth of those in the realm, we may put their annual income at £300,000 at the lowest. Possessing this large income, owning not less than one-fourth of the good land in the county, connected in one way or another with every parish in the county, and with all classes of its residents, and,

in addition, having three or four peers of Parliament amongst their inhabitants, the influence of the religious houses was by far the most powerful element in the county life, and yet within a space of twenty years it passed away as if it never had been!

The real reason of the unwept-for death of the cloistered life, not only in Norfolk, but in most parts of the realm, was that it had fallen out of joint both with its original purpose and with the aims of the age. England was astir with individuality, with a new life, and with the first breathings of an air that was fresher and freer than that which had been blowing for many years; and so, tyrannical and unjust as the dissolution of the monasteries was in many ways, it fell in with the common sentiment of the period, irrespective of the change in pious beliefs. This sentiment, of course, was helped by the condition of monasticism at the time. Devotees have constantly forgotten that human nature is against the perpetuity and universality of their opinions. Prophets, Fakirs, Recluses, Reformers, Puritans, Methodists, Evangelicals, Tractarians —it has been alike with them all. They have wound up the instrument to its highest pitch, and thought they could keep it there, but always it has soon cracked or gone flat, and things have been as they were before. It was so at the time of the Dissolution. But oh! the pity of the moods which prevailed at the moment and immediately afterwards! The rampant greed and furious, blind unreasonableness, that crying "Reformation," robbed, ruined, and defaced so much that was good and beautiful in practice and in sentiment. I cannot bear to think of it.

In Norfolk there were hardly any violent anti-Dissolution scenes at all, except in connection with a tiny half-hatched insurrection at Walsingham, in 1537, which was caused as much by the fear that parochial endowments and buildings would be secularised, as it was by the suppression of the religious houses.

Certainly it was not on account of the "enormities"

of the vowed men and women of the county that their dispersion aroused so little intense feeling. The interested lying of Thomas Cromwell's visitors is all but baseless. In forty years only one proved case of immorality by a Norfolk female religious is known—that is of an Austin canoness at Crabhouse, in Wiggenhall parish. The undoubted cases of very grave scandal amongst the 750 Norfolk men "in religion," were probably not much more numerous comparatively than they were amongst the Reformed clergy for centuries after the Dissolution. It is a question, too, if in reality an ordinary vowed person did not work as hard as a modern village rector or Puritan minister does. Without doubt the inmates of a religious house of any importance must have toiled harder than deans and canons of the Reformed Church have ever done, or, it might be added, till of late years, than its prelates even have done. Doubtless there was much laxness, triviality, and luxuriousness to be found in the houses in place of strictness, noble living, and self-denial that the vows required, but there was not the deep sea of gross wickedness that some people imagine.

The visitation records of the later pre-Reformation bishops prove this. In these we read that the nuns of the Carrow Benedictine Priory complain that "their beer is weak" (one of the dear souls must have been nearly eighty years old—if not older!). At Coxford (in 1281) the canons chatted with girls, and hunted too much. At Holm, William Bynham kept away from mattins "because he was ill," although he enjoyed good health and ate and drank like the rest. William was, apparently, quite a twentieth century kind of churchman! At Wymondham, one of the monks had a cookery book in his bedroom. "Henry Tolle could not with a clear conscience live in peace with Geoffrey Blake, but got on splendidly with Robert Patrick." (This reads exactly like a to-day church or chapel squabble.) "Too many dogs kept in the precincts," "There is no clock in the house," are frequent

asseverations. At Westacre the sub-prior is devoted to his rabbit warren, and to rearing swans on a piece of water near the priory. At Thetford, Richard Skete had suspicions about the wife of Stephen Horman, dairyman to the Austin canons. The wearing of swords, of silk girdles, of pointed shoes, of linen shirts, of coloured ribbons, of buckles, the frequenting alehouses, hunting on foot instead of on horseback, weak or too sweet beer, conversing with women, gossiping in church, singing out of tune, taking too much ease—such are the majority of the offences the bishops are informed of when they go their rounds.

Of another kind is the complaint of Jane Scrope, respecting Gib, the Carrow priory cat, as voiced by John Skelton, Henry the Seventh's Laureate:—

"That vengeance I ask and cry
By way of exclamation
On all the whole nation
Of cats wild and tame
God send them sorrow and shame
That cat specially
That slew so cruelly
My little pretty Sparrow
That I brought up at Carrow."

As a verbal coincidence, Margery Cat was elected prioress of Carrow in 1365, and John Cat, a chaplain to the Benedictine nuns at Thetford, and two others clerks, in 1305 broke bounds one night to gossip with Joan de Fieldon. Jane Scrope possibly belonged to a branch of the great Scropes of the north country, and had been sent to Carrow to complete her education in the famous finishing school of the Carrow nunnery.

To digress for a moment into mediæval social life. At North Creake (where every canon died of the plague in 1504-6, and the income of the abbey went to Christ's College) the accounts for 1345 shew that two knives, value 1½d., were given to two girls for bringing apples to the abbot. Chaucer says of his prior:—

"His tippet was aye stuffed full of knives,
And pins for to give fair wives."

The influence of the Norfolk religious houses was not confined to the county, but extended to all parts of the kingdom. Thus, the fifth Earl of Northumberland (1477-1527) sent to Walsingham 3s. every Michaelmas and 6s. 8d. every year for a light. John Pigott, of Ripon, in 1488 left 20s. for "a man" to make a pilgrimage "to Walsingham and three other places." Adam FitzAdam, about 1205, gave Kirkby Malam, near Leeds, to the canons of West Dereham. In 1535, Edward III. gave four oaks out of Sherwood Forest to the Norwich hospital of St. Leonard Without, for repairs. In 1439, Isabel Countess of Warwick left—

"The tablet with the Image of our lady with a glass to fore it to be offered to our lady of Walsingham, and my gown of green Alyz cloth of gold with wide sleeves, and a tabernacle also of silver."

English and over-the-sea sovereigns and princes were frequent visitors to Bacton, Bromholm, Cross, and Walsingham. At the hospital of Bec, in Billingford, thirteen beds were always kept ready for travellers to Walsingham. At Southacre, Westacre, Hilborough, Prior's Thorns in Swaffham, Beechamwell, Lynn, and several other places, crosses and chapels were erected as resting places for the many pilgrims to the different shrines. Henry I. gave to the monks at Wymondham "all wrecks on that part of the coast lying between Eccles, Happisburgh, and Tunstead, and a rent in kind of 2,000 eels annually from the parish of Hilgay." Whether the thefts of funds that were meant for the poor, and of revenues intended for the cultivation of the higher and the simpler life, or whether the destruction of the innumerably multiform works of skill and beauty that took place at the Dissolution, call more for grief or rage, it is hard to say.

As to what was done for the poor, besides the ordinary almsgiving, the following may be taken as fair examples.

The Benedictines of St. Faith, in Horsham, gave a loaf and two herrings to all needy applicants. The religious belonging to the comparatively small foundation at Old

Buckenham yearly distributed in charity the equivalent of the rent of one hundred acres of land. (At Bury St. Edmunds, the monastery yearly gave away an amount equal to £4,820 of our money.) At Pentney, down to the last hour of the existence of the house, it was said of the Augustinian canons residing there, "they relieve those quarters wondrously, feed many poor, and do many charitable deeds." According to Camden, Pentney was the usual burying-place of the nobility residing in that part of Norfolk.

As to "thefts," the following instances are samples of a large bulk of instances. The "clear annual value" of Castleacre Priory was £306 11s. 4d. All its possessions were obtained by the Duke of Norfolk for an annual rent of £44 19s. 0¾d. The same lucky duke obtained the possession of the Cluniacs, at Thetford, of the "clear annual value" of £312 14s. 4d., for a payment down of £1,000, a yearly rental of £59 5s. 1d., and the service of a knight's fee—that is, to go to the wars forty days in a year if required to do so. Thomas Paxton, a gentleman of Henry VIII.'s privy chamber, obtained property belonging to Binham Priory, of the nett yearly value of £101 8s. 4¾d., for a rent of £10 3s. Miles Spencer, Dean of the College of the Chapel of Our Lady in the Field, in Norwich, a mean, shameless pluralist, obtained its possessions, "worth £86 12s. 8d. clear yearly," and the edifice for "a nominal sum." The Shouldham Gilbertines' various properties, of the nett yearly value of about £150, were sold in 1553 for £1,049 9s. 4½d. to Thomas Mildmay. The systematic nature of the thefts is shown by the grimly comical manner in which the hush money was often calculated to the fraction of a penny, as it is in some of the above extracts.

Out of 256 religious revenues in the diocese of Norwich, fifteen went to charities, thirteen to the Church, thirteen to teaching institutions, one hundred and eighty-four to laymen, and thirty-one to destinations unaccounted

for. For two centuries Protestantism kept Norfolk without hospitals, after either turning those of the Old Faith into bridewells, or razing them to the ground. There were six "hospitals" in Lynn, fourteen in Norwich, six in Thetford, three in Yarmouth; all of them, with the exception of two or three, have been secularized. The revenue of the Carbrooke Knights Hospitallers did go to a good purpose, as it was used to endow the lower foundation of the Poor Military Knights of Windsor. It is worth noticing, too, with respect to the Knights, that the offerings to them did not decrease in the same proportion as the offerings at shrines did in the years immediately preceding the Reformation. Doubtlessly this was because to some extent the objects of the Hospitallers were visible and practical ones, and so were in accord with the tendencies of the times, while the influences that worked upon men to offer something to honour or gratify a dead saint were spiritual and idealistic. This great falling off in shrine offerings in the immediate pre-Reformation period is perhaps the most convincing proof of the statement before made as to the aims of the religious orders being opposed to those of the time.

Nothing can excuse the suppression of the various trades gilds, or make it anything else than the meanest of the doings of a mean court. Partly because of the petty greed of Edward VI.'s courtiers, and partly because it destroyed what was a safeguard of the poor and of labouring men, the theft of the generally insignificant possessions of the gilds was arranged. In Norfolk there were 990 of these fraternities, instituted for upholding the workmen's rights, for helping the poor, and for having a merry day now and then. Visitors to the fine church of St. Margaret, at Lynn, will remember its magnificent, unique brass of a gild feast. In my own small township of Beechamwell, with a population at the time of 350 at the utmost, there were no fewer than six gilds in existence at the period of the suppression, and a similar state of

things was to be found in almost every township in the county. It is pleasant for West Norfolk people to read in the Acts of the Privy Council: "That none were stiffer nor more busily went about to impugn the article made for the gildable lands than the burgesses of the town of Lynn, in the county of Norfolk."

The destruction at the time of the Dissolution of the works of skill and fine art that so plenteously adorned and filled the county was, in another way, as nefarious as the robbery of sacred funds. For centuries the pious people of Norfolk had laboured, as the men and women of no other county had done, in stone, in gold and silver, in silk, in brass, in velvet, in wood, in clay, in iron, and in colour, and nearly all their work was destroyed in a few profane years.

At Old Buckenham Priory, obscure as it was, for example, they had in the Priory church five silver-gilt crosses, a silver-gilt pix, two silver-gilt candlesticks, a silver-gilt ship, two parcel-gilt basons, a parcel-gilt censer, a cope of red velvet, two copes of blue velvet, three copes of white damask, one cope of red damask, one of red silk, one of red satin, one of blue satin, two of white satin, and four of white fustian. Also, "the house was newly built and in marvellously good repair."

There never has been a more complete change for the worse than there has been in one feature of the character of Norfolk people. From being the gayest and most artistic people in the realm, they have become almost the dullest and the most puritanical. We shall discern this if we think of what could be seen in 1507 in a short walk, say, from Walsingham to Binham, and from Binham to Blakeney, on from Southacre to Pentney by way of Castleacre and Westacre. The beauty and the splendour of what was then proudly shown by Norwich, and by Thetford, and by Yarmouth, and by Lynn, and the bareness of the same places in intellectual and spiritual and artistic activity in 1907, tell us too well what has been lost, if we reflect for a moment.

Binham Priory: West Front.

Binham Priory: Interior.

While recognizing to the fullest the short-sighted madness that brought about this cruel change, I would, however, repeat that the vowed religious themselves had much to answer for by the common disregard of the purposes which were the original foundations on which the communal life was established. Either from faulty fellowship, or because of the ordinariness of the fault, the bishops in their visitations take no notice of the ostentation or of the violation of the labour vow of those "in religion." At Hempton, four canons had fifteen servants, ten hinds, and five waiting servants. The corn land was one hundred and sixty-five acres, and there were thirteen plough horses, twenty pigs, five kine, and one hundred and sixty-five sheep and lambs belonging to the house. At Pentney, nine canons had thirty household servants. At Old Buckenham, five Austin canons had twenty-one waiting servants and eleven hinds. They also had as officers a steward of the courts, a hayward, a woodward, and a porter; there was besides, a cellarer chosen from the canons. The nine Benedictine nuns at Blackborough, in Middleton parish, had eight women servants and nine men servants in the house. The excessive luxury in some cases must have been confined to the dignities of the houses, as there was often a great deal of grumbling about the poor and insufficient food, drink, and accommodation supplied to the brethren. Then, as now, the chief shepherds were very frequently unfairly stalled and cockered up in comparison with the under shepherds.

In the midst of the lassitude and the splendour, however, there was left some of the genuine simplicity of entire faith, as witness these extracts from the accounts of the Cathedral Priory of the Holy Trinity at Norwich:

		£	s.	d.
1404.	For a jewel bought for the body of Christ ...	12	0	0
,,	For cleaning the crowns of the Holy Trinity ...	0	0	5
1505.	For making the shoes of the Holy Trinity ...	1	2	10
1510.	For a ladder and carrying stand made with iron work, to put the tunic and crown upon the second person of the Holy Trinity at fit times	0	2	0

"There was also a nun, a Prioress,
That of her smiling was full simple and coy;
And she was cleped Madame Eglantine.
Full well she sang the service divine,
Entunèd in her nose full sweetely.
And French she spake full fair and daintily,
After the school of Stratford at the Bow,
For French of Paris was to her unknow.
But for to speaken of her conscience,
She was so charitable and so piteous
She would weep if that she saw a mouse
Caught in a trap, if it were dead or bled.
Of small hounds had she, that she fed
With roasted flesh, or milk, and whitest bread;
But sore wept she if one of them were dead,
Or if men smote it with a rod smart:
And all was conscience and tender heart.
Full dainty was her cloak, as I was ware,
Of small coral about her arm she bare
A pair of beads gauded all with green,
And thereon hung a brooch of gold full sheen,
On which was first writ a crowned A,
And after 'Amor vincit omnia.'"

Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

NOTE.—For fuller information on Norfolk Religious Houses the reader is referred to the excellent chapter on the subject in the *Victoria History of Norfolk*, vol. ii. I am indebted to it.

CASTLEACRE

By the Editor.

SITUATED in the midst of what Dr. Jessopp has well called "the Norfolk Holy Land," on the slope of a hill overlooking the beautiful valley of the Nar, the now insignificant village of Castleacre appeals by the extent of its remains of the past, as few places either in Norfolk or out of it do, to the antiquary, the architect, and the historian.

Through the village runs the ancient Icenian trackway, known as "The Peddars' Way"; this was afterwards utilized as a Roman road connecting the two *Branodunums*, that to the south, now Brandon, with that to the north, now Brancaster, each of them the seat of Roman garrisons, and from this and other indications we may conclude that Castleacre has probably been an inhabited site from prehistoric times.

Within a few miles of it, down the valley of the Nar, may be seen the vestiges of the Austin priories of Westacre, Pentney, and Wormegay, the nunnery of Marham, which was the only Cistercian house in the county, and the Hospital of Southacre, while Castleacre itself was the seat of the great Cluniac priory founded by William de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, in the time of William Rufus. Few localities can shew the remains of so many religious houses, not to mention those a little further off, like the Premonstratensian Abbey of West Dereham and the alien priory of St. Winwaloe at Wereham, and others, within so circumscribed a space of country; and, apart

from any question as to the utility or morality of these institutions, the fact of so many being congregated in or near the valley of the Nar, amply justifies the name which Dr. Jessopp has applied to it.

But apart from the remains of its magnificent priory, Castleacre would be a place full of interest, for, as Mr. St. John Hope has truly said:

> "There are not many places in England where, as at Castleacre, there may be seen within a circle of only half a mile in diameter, a Roman Camp, an Anglian Burh, a Norman Castle, a fine mediæval Church and extensive ruins of a Cluniac Priory, besides some interesting remains of ancient domestic architecture of various dates."

It is with all these that we shall endeavour to deal, as fully as our space permits, within the limits prescribed by this volume.

In order to convey a general idea of the aspect of the ruins to those who may not be acquainted with the place, it will be advisable here to describe their relative position and the appearance presented to one entering the village for the first time.

The first object that meets the eye of the visitor approaching from the north is the mighty ruin of the castle keep on the left hand, of which only some portions of the curtain wall now crown the summit of the great mound surrounded by its huge moat. Immediately facing one is a gateway with two towers, described by Mr. Harrod as "a very poor specimen of Early English work," leading into Bailey Street, now the main street of the village, which passes right across the centre of the outer ballium, and leads by a steep descent to the valley of the Nar. The castle is a fine example of what is known as the "Mound and Court fortress," consisting in this case of the great mound in the north-east corner, with an inner bailey containing remains of domestic buildings to the south, a small courtyard to the east, and the outer bailey some twenty acres in extent, each enclosed by an earthen rampart and a deep moat on the outer side.

At the north-west corner of the outer bailey stands the church, and a few hundred yards further west we arrive at the precincts of the priory, surrounded by a wall of which a great part remains, and entered by a fine gateway of brick in the Late Perpendicular style, having a large arch spanning the road, and a smaller arch for foot passengers, with a porter's lodge on the left, in which there is a staircase to a large room above. Before passing through this, however, our visitor will first thoroughly explore the castle and its remains. Of prehistoric Castleacre there is no trace, unless it be in those vast earthworks which now enclose the inner bailey, and the small court to the east of the keep, and possibly the mound itself. It is the fashion now to ascribe all the mound and court fortresses to the Normans in their entirety, but although this is probably true in a majority of cases, there are instances in which it is more probable that the Norman castle-builders made use of pre-existing fortifications. Of such, there are no less than three in this county of Norfolk: the castle at Thetford, that at Castle Rising, and here. In each of these cases the works are on too enormous a scale to have been at all needed by the Norman conquerors in a district where there was little fear of rebellion, and I think there cannot be much doubt that in these instances at least they made use of sites already prepared and fortified, first, perhaps, in the days of the old Icenian realm, and utilized for their own purposes by Romans, Anglians, and Danes in succession. It is allowable to picture Icenian warriors gathering their flocks and herds within the shelter of these earthworks, and withstanding from thence the onward march of the Roman invaders, as, it may be, long before, they themselves had been resisted from behind these same works by their neolithic Euskarian or Iberian predecessors. But this is all enshrouded in the dim mists of prehistoric times. Had the Romans a camp at Castleacre? Up to a quite recent period this question has always

been answered in the affirmative; Mr. Harvey Bloom, Mr. Harrod, and Mr. St. John Hope have no doubt about it, and the evidence seems to be clear enough.

We know that the Romans were all over the neighbourhood; the situation was on the main road to Brancaster, on the Peddars' Way; Blomefield tells us of coins of "Vespasian, Constantine, etc.," being found here, and Mr. Harrod remarks:

"My supposition as to the site having been occupied by the Romans was fully confirmed in the course of the excavations I made. I found a large quantity of pottery of undoubted Roman make."

Be that as it may, there is the size and shape of what afterwards became the outer bailey of the Norman castle, which to my mind affords unimpeachable evidence of its Roman origin. This is a rectangular enclosure of about ten acres in extent, bounded on the southern, western, and northern sides by the vallum and fosse characteristic of Roman camps wherever found. The vallum and fosse on the west side are of quite unusual height and depth, and perfect from end to end; those on the south have suffered from the depredation of successive generations of despoilers, but in the centre the remains of the south gate may be traced; those on the north have disappeared entirely, and the site is occupied by a line of modern houses; the north-western and south-western corners are rounded, just as in many of the forts on the Roman Wall and elsewhere, but a peculiarity may be noticed in the fact that the northern and southern sides approach one another towards the east, where they meet the moat surrounding the keep and that enclosing the inner ballium of the Norman castle respectively.

Mr. Harrod says:

"The conclusion I arrive at is that the circular and horse-shoe works are of *still earlier construction*, and the Roman enclosure assumed its present form in order to include these earlier works within the camp. The small additional work on the north-east may also be Roman. [This, too, is rectangular with a rounded corner.] Standing on the line of the great road, known as the Peddars' Way, this must have been from the earliest times a position of great importance."

Notwithstanding this weighty pronouncement, with which my own observations on the spot certainly incline me to agree, it must be noted that Mr. Haverfield, than whom there is no greater living authority on Roman Britain, has recently written, after mentioning the evidence of the "finds": "The 'camp,' so far as I can judge without excavation, is not definitely Roman in character, and hardly any of the objects seem to have been found in or near it." He adds that the potsherds found by Harrod may have been fragments of Anglian burial-urns, mistaken by him, "as so often," for Roman, and he concludes:

"I cannot regard the meagre and scattered evidence as adequate to prove the camp Roman, still less to prove it Roman of the first century, as Mr. Fox conjectures. It indicates, at the utmost, a cottage or two standing perhaps beside the Peddars' Way somewhere about A.D. 300."[1]

Who shall decide? Those who believe that the Romans had a camp here in the third and fourth centuries, when Brancaster was the seat of authority of the Count of the Saxon Shore, are, in my opinion, perfectly justified in doing so; but here the matter must rest.

Apart from these somewhat problematical remains, the earliest undoubted relics discovered in Castleacre date from the days of the heathen kingdom of East Anglia, and are the more interesting because they testify to the practice of cremation among the Anglo-Saxons at that time.[2] In the spring of 1857, some workmen, engaged in raising a new bank along the boundary line between Castleacre and Westacre, came upon several dark grey urns of varying size and pattern, filled with calcined bones. Many of the urns were destroyed, but some twenty or thirty were preserved, though their contents were scattered about. Amongst these were a spindle-

1 *Victoria County History of Norfolk*, vol. i., p. 315.

2 A cinerary urn, stated by Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., to be of *pre-Roman* age, now in the possession of Mr. Plowright, of Swaffham, is said to have been found at Castleacre.

whorl, portions of a mirror of Roman pattern, a glass bead, and fragments of a bone comb, ornamented with double concentric rings.

The great discovery, however, was made in 1891, when an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was found, by the efforts of Dr. Jessopp and Mr. H. Willett, of Brighton, on some urns coming to light on the south-western boundary of the priory field. The urns were met with in such quantities that it was clear they had been deposited without any order or regularity, but out of more than fifty specimens, only twelve were got out whole. They were of coarse pottery, and had the black appearance of Roman Upchurch ware. Some were plain, some ornamented in the customary rectilinear manner; all contained, along with a good deal of the surrounding soil, a conglomerate of human bones, burnt and discoloured. The "finds" were few, including two bronze knives, two needles, four pairs of bronze tweezers, glass beads, and portions of bone combs.[1]

These discoveries are the more interesting because they bring our Anglian forefathers into distinct relation with the Angles and kindred tribes of North Germany, whence they came, and prove that, though extended burial was not unknown, yet cremation was the prevailing practice among the pagan Angles of Mercia and East Anglia. This may now be considered an "ascertained fact of English archæology."[2]

These urns, and the cemeteries in which they were found, constitute the evidence for what Mr. St. John Hope calls "the Anglian burh."

Coming now to Norman times. When William de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, received from William the Conqueror his grants of extensive manors and houses in many parts of England, a privilege which he shared with the rest of the Norman nobility, but which was at the same time a safeguard cunningly devised by the wily

1 *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xii.
2 *Victoria County History of Norfolk*, vol. i., p. 326.

Castleacre Priory : West Front and Prior's Lodge.

Conqueror to avoid the possibility of the accumulation of force on the part of any one of his followers in any one spot, and which thus made disaffection both difficult and dangerous, he made the town of Lewes, in Sussex, which was his principal manor, the headquarters of his family, and built there the magnificent castle, whose ruins still dominate the town; and there, in 1078, he founded the great Cluniac priory, of which not a trace remains, the site of the monastic church being now occupied by the railway station. We are more fortunate in that the ruins of the daughter house here are one of the chief beauties of Norfolk. Of the two hundred and ninety-six manors which belonged to him at the Survey, one hundred and forty-five were in this county, and these were valued at £329 4s., having been worth, T. R. E., £249 18s. 4d. The principal of these was his manor at Castleacre; and here, taking advantage of the pre-existing earthworks, and probable Roman camp, for the outer and inner ballium of his fortress, he built the castle, of which, as before stated, only the curtain wall of the keep and a small ruined postern gate, besides the bailey gate, leading into the village, now exist. He probably added to the height of the great mound, and commenced the stone keep, which was completed by his son. The domestic buildings, which have now all disappeared, were probably also built by him, for we know that he resided here, and here he died in 1089. A curious story is told by Dugdale of the parting hour of this first William de Warrenne:

"It is reported that Earl William did violently detain certain lands from the monks of Ely; for which, being often admonished by the Abbot and not making restitution, he died miserably. And though his death happened very far off the Isle of Ely, the same night he died, the abbot lying quietly in his bed, and meditating on heavenly things, heard the soul of this earl, in its carriage away by the devil, cry out loudly, and with a known and distinct voice, 'Lord, have mercy upon me'; and moreover that the next day after the abbot acquainted all the monks of the chapter therewith. And likewise, that about four days after, there

came a messenger to them from the wife of this earl, with 100/- for the good of his soul, who told them that he had died the very hour the abbot had heard the outcry. But that neither the abbot nor any of the monks would receive it, not thinking it safe to take money of a damned person. If this part of the story," adds Dugdale, "as to the abbot's hearing the voice be no truer than the last, viz., that his lady sent them 100/-, I shall deem it to be a mere fiction, in regard the lady was certainly dead about three years before."[1]

This lady was Gundrada, who is stated by some authorities to have been a daughter of the Conqueror, but whom recent investigation has almost certainly proved to have been his step-daughter, being the daughter of Matilda by a former husband. She died also at Castleacre, and was buried at Lewes in 1085.

Of the family of de Warrenne, it is impossible to add anything to the exhaustive account given by the Rev. J. H. Bloom in his monumental work on *Castleacre*, nor can we add anything to the description of the castle contained therein, and in Mr. Harrod's book on the *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, to which we would refer our readers.

The most distinguished member of the family was John Plantagenet, the sixth earl, who commanded the forces of Edward I. in his Scotch wars, and who suffered defeat but not dishonour at the hands of the great Scottish hero, William Wallace.

This Earl John entertained Edward I. and a brilliant court at Castleacre for three weeks in the year 1296, and, in spite of his defeat in Scotland, was honoured with the King's confidence and esteem to the end of his long life. His only son died during his lifetime, leaving one son who succeeded his grandfather, and died, the last of the male line of the De Warrennes, in 1347, and from that time the castle began to fall into decay. From an Inquisition taken "in the 21st year of Edward III.," just after the last Earl's death, when the property had been sold to the Earl of Arundel, who was married to his

[1] Munford's *Domesday Book of Norfolk*, pp. 18, 19.

sister, we learn that the site of the castle and ditches were, even then, mere feeding grounds for cattle, "the herbage within the castle and in the ditch being valued at 5s. per annum."

The castle was, and remains, an admirable specimen of a Norman fortress of the mound and double court type, but it was never called upon to stand a siege, or to take part in any warlike operations. The mimic warfare of chivalry and the jousts of knights were the only semblance of war in which it was ever engaged. Its career was uniformly one of peace. As Mr. Bloom says:

"Whilst the Castle of Acre retained its original character of an Anglo-Norman stronghold, there is assuredly no evidence to show that it was ever hostilely approached, and its formidable ramparts, towers, battlements, and outworks frowned stern defiance in the midst of a serene and quiet landscape, undisturbed by the presence of a single foe. But if the din and turmoil of warfare were wanting, the ancient seat of the De Warrennes was not deficient in those other bustling accessories which we are wont to associate with the idea of a castle. From the rank, wealth, and influence of this family, we may well conceive it to have often been the scene of the splendid hospitalities for which the baronial residences of England were usually distinguished. Retainers crowded within the walls; men-at-arms thronged the ramparts; noble knights and squires filled the spacious halls; courtly dames and high-born beauties graced the ample daïs; tilts and tournaments allured with their gorgeous pageantry; mimes, gleemen and minnesingers added fresh impulse to the festal hour; and all the pomp and circumstance which a proud baron of the olden time could so readily command were here displayed in all their splendour. On one occasion in particular," that referred to above, "all these attractions were concentrated, as it were, to do honour to the presence of one of England's proudest and most chivalrous sovereigns, and still tradition retains some faint memory of the glories of the royal visit. Who can pause unmoved amid the void and grass-grown area of the castle keep, and suffer busy fancy to retrace the splendour of the past, to which its rude and shattered walls are tongueless witnesses? We envy not the man."[1]

As we have seen, the estates of the De Warrennes passed, on the failure of the male line, to the Fitz-Alans, Earls of Arundel, with whom they remained, with some

[1] Bloom's *Notices of Castleacre*, pp. 94-96.

vicissitudes, until the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Henry Fitz-Alan, with whom this line ended, sold the Castle and Lordship of Acre to Sir Thos. Gresham, citizen of London, from whom it passed for two generations to the Exeter branch of the Cecil family, being finally acquired by Sir Ed. Coke, Lord Chief Justice of England, in which distinguished family, in the person of the present Earl of Leicester, the property still remains.

But Castleacre might have possessed its ruined castle, with all its romantic and chivalrous associations ascending to the remote prehistoric past, and it would still have remained comparatively unknown. That which draws crowds of curious and interested tourists to visit its secluded haunts year after year, and which attracts the antiquary and the student, is the fact that it possesses extensive remains of its famous and once noble priory —noble still even in its desolation and decay.

The Cluniacs, to which Order the priory belonged, were a reformed branch of the Benedictines, and were originated by Bernard of Clugni in the year A.D. 912. When in the height of its glory, Clugni may be said to have covered the whole face of Christian Europe with its affiliated foundations, and it stood at the head of all monastic institutions, even after the rise of other Orders. It possessed thirty-five religious houses in England, of which William de Warrenne's great priory at Lewes was the head, "the Prior of St. Pancras at Lewes being the Vicar-General of the Order in England." Bernard's reform consisted in a more strict interpretation and a more rigorous carrying out of the Benedictine rule; but, like all monastic institutions, after the time of its fifth Abbot, Peter the Venerable, in 1122, the glory of the Order having culminated in him, the inevitable fate attending its progress was ultimate decay; as wealth increased, and with it the power of the community, abuses crept in, and its place, as a reformed Order, was taken by the Cistercians, the Puritans of the mediæval world, who had

even greater charm for this country and took deeper root therein, so that the number of their religious foundations ultimately surpassed that of the Cluniacs by one-half or more.

It was the Cistercians who brought the chaste and somewhat coldly severe and beautiful Early English style to the pitch of its perfection, while among the Benedictines and Cluniacs are to be found the finest examples of the solid, massive and magnificent Norman style; one of the noblest specimens of which is to be seen here at Castleacre, in the uniquely beautiful west front of the Priory Church. Long may it endure!

The reason that induced William de Warrenne to affiliate his foundation at Lewes with the Cluniac Order is said to have been that on some occasion he determined on a pilgrimage to the Holy City, accompanied by his Countess, and at an early period of their progress thither they availed themselves of the hospitality proffered by the monasteries to those who were bent upon so pious an errand. The reception they experienced at Clugni, and the general character of its religious observances, determined them to bestow upon that foundation the house they subsequently built at Lewes, and accordingly the priory there was endowed for the support of twelve Cluniac monks, who, with a certain Lanzo at their head, were despatched thither in 1078 to take possession; and when, some few years afterwards, the Countess induced her husband to endow another foundation at Castleacre, it was made a cell to Lewes.

When this actually was is a little uncertain. Mr. Bloom thought that he had discovered the date impressed on the stucco while it was still moist in the north transept of the church, and he read it as being 1084; but from the foundation charter of Lewes Priory, the date of which is between 1087 and 1089, we learn that William de Warrenne and Gundradœ, his wife, *intended* to found at Castleacre a monastery for monks of the Cluniac Order,

some of whom he had already placed in "the church of our castle of Acre," and before his death in 1089 he issued a charter of foundation to the new monastery, and endowed it with various churches and possessions, including the church at Acre. William de Warrenne the Second confirmed his father's gifts and added others. According to Matthew of Westminster, "the church of the Blessed Mary of Castleacre was founded in 1090, and Blomefield tells us that it was consecrated by William Turbus, Bishop of Norwich, between 1146 and 1148. These dates accord with the architectural data of the building. Mr. St. John Hope says:

"Later documents throw very little light on its architectural history The *rule hospitium* is mentioned in an early deed, and others provide for the burning of lamps before the altar of St. Nicholas and the altar of the Apostles."[1]

In the *Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations*, by Sir G. F. Duckett, we find some interesting details of the conditions of the monastery in 1275 and 1279. In the former year, the visitors acting on behalf of the Abbot of Clugni, say:

"The community here number 32, and their mode of life is conducted with propriety and regularity."

At Bromholme, one of the cells to Castleacre, where there was a piece of the True Cross, possessed of such virtue that (according to Capgrave) nineteen blind persons were restored to sight by it, and thirty-nine were raised from the dead, and which was, in consequence, a great place of pilgrimage, though now a deserted spot, the ruins of the church and convent, which were standing in 1738, having almost entirely disappeared, they say:

"The number of the brethren here amount to 16, who live sufficiently well and regularly."

In 1279 the visitors say:

"On Monday following the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (Sept. 8th)

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[1] *Norfolk Archæology*, xii., 106 *seq.*

we arrived at Castleacre. The brethren number 35. They conduct themselves well, and carry out the Divine Offices and all other ecclesiastical rites in a proper manner. There is an insufficiency of grain, or what will be necessary to last till the coming harvest. The Prior is too extravagant, and he would resign gladly enough if he could, but the difficulty is to find some one to replace him, and take over the house."

Again at a later visitation we are told:

"The number of monks should, as a rule, be 26, and there are seven celebrations of the Mass here daily; three of these are with chant (or music), and four without either. It is said that in former times the brotherhood were not limited to any fixed number, and the brethren have sometimes been as many as 30 and upwards."[1]

In February, 1536, the convent was visited by Cromwell's Inquisitors, Ap Rice and Legh, and these claimed that seven of the monks had confessed to deadly sins. But to show how little credence was really given to these tales, it may be noted that in the following month, March, 1536, Thomas Melling, the prior of a peculiarly polluted house, if the visitors were to be believed, was chosen by the Bishop of Norwich to be nominated to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the Suffragan Bishopric of Thetford; and in October of the same year the prior of Castleacre was one of the Norfolk gentlemen appointed by the King to abide in their counties, at the time of the Lincoln and northern rebellions, to keep good order in the absence of the rest of the noblemen. Only two religious were selected for this honour, viz., the priors of Westacre and Castleacre.[2] When the Dissolution came in November, 1537, the deed of surrender of the priory and all its possessions was signed by Thos. Melling and ten of the monks, and the whole property was at once assigned by the Crown to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, for an annual rent of £44 19s. 0¾d., the Valor of 1535 having given the clear annual value at £306 11s. 4¾d., while in 1291 the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas had given the value at £215 14s. 4½d.

1 Duckett's *Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations*, pp. 19, 34, 40.

2 *Victoria County History of Norfolk*, vol. ii., 357-8.

Taking our stand on the green sward beneath two tall and wide-branching cherry trees, after having entered the precincts of the priory through the fine gateway previously described, we can obtain a very good idea, not only of what is left of the church and other buildings, but also, with a little help from the imagination, of the appearance they must have presented in the days of their pristine magnificence, when they were the pride and boast of all the country-side.

Facing one is the west front of the priory church, or what is left of it, a splendid Norman façade in the best style, rather later than, and therefore not so heavy as, Lindisfarne or parts of Durham or Norwich cathedrals. It is flanked by two towers, the northern of which has now practically disappeared, but the southern is almost complete to the triforium, where it just begins to touch the Early English style; there is a beautiful Romanesque ornamented doorway in the centre with two corresponding doors in the base of the towers, an arcade of intersecting round arches above, which at the intersections make pointed arches, and thus are supposed to have given the first idea of the lancet arch and window, which are characteristic of the succeeding Pointed or Early English style. The same intersecting round arches may be seen at Norwich, Glastonbury, Wenlock, and elsewhere; but as for the lancet window and pointed arch, it is more probable that they were really due to contact between the Crusaders and the Saracens in the East, although it may be conceded that they formed the inevitable next stage in the evolution of Gothic architecture. As Mr. Prior says:

"Since the pointed arch has been taken as the clear sign-manual of Gothic art, its origin has been thoroughly discussed. A ninth century one in the East (the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem is so dated), and an eleventh century introduction into the south of France, seems established."

Introduced first for purely constructional purposes—

"mixed causes turned this accident into a necessary feature of æsthetic expression. The convenience for vaulting purposes; *the occurrence of*

Castleacre Priory: From the North-East.

the form in the intersecting circles of arcades, the eye of the Crusader, who had grown accustomed to the shape in the East, may each in its turn have suggested, but it was the sweep of advancing art that, seizing on the pointed arch as its plaything, compelled its use for the efficient expression of the Gothic ideal."[1]

But to return and quote Mr. Prior again as to the object of this wall arcade. He says:

"Externally the wall arcade had the function less of lightening the wall structure than of decorating it. The Saxons had shown this fancy, and in Benedictine hands of the latter half of the twelfth century the tier upon tier of arcade galleries on the lower or west fronts of Crowland, Durham, or Ely, would seem to link their design with Pisan Romanesque. In these the pointed arch appears as a decorative alternative, born originally of the intersection of rounded arches," and, he adds, "so in the Cluniac west front of Castleacre and their chapter house at Wenlock," and "as at St. Cross and Romsey, and the late refined example, St. Joseph's, Glastonbury."[2]

Over the central doorway the symmetry of the Romanesque style has been spoilt by the insertion of a large window in the fifteenth century, which Mr. Bond notes as being the case also at Southwell, Rochester, Durham, and Tewkesbury, which, with Castleacre, he describes as "the most important Romanesque west fronts left." As regards the twin towers, the same writer says:

"The towered façade was perhaps an architectural extravagance, one of the few instances in Gothic architecture of work done mainly for effect, but Castleacre, with the Abbaye-aux-Hommes at Caen, and Southwell, is successful, because it obeys the essential principle of the twin-towered façade, viz., that the towers shall be towers all the way to the ground, and wholly independent of the central façade."[3]

Entering by the central door we stand within the ruined nave of the church, and proceed to explore what is left of it, together with the chapter house, dorter, rere-dorter, cloister, refectory, and domestic buildings, of all

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[1] E. S. Prior, *Gothic Art in England*, 84, 85. *Cf.* F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, 202, 263.

[2] E. S. Prior, *op. cit.*, 124.

[3] F. Bond, *op. cit.*, 28, 72, 73.

of which there are extensive remains. We can add nothing to what Mr. Bloom, Mr. Harrod, and Mr. St. John Hope[1] have so well said in their exhaustive treatises on the subject; we can only summarize and give our own impressions, and if these shall induce any to study Castleacre for themselves, our reward will be ample. Mr. Hope's article contains a complete plan of the whole site, which is as perfect as it well can be, and he had the advantage of visiting the place on the occasion of the excavations carried out by the liberality of the Earl of Leicester in the year 1889, previous to which Mr. Bloom had made certain excavations sixty years ago, but no systematic examination of the ground plan of the buildings had been made. The cloister forms the centre round which the other buildings are grouped—the church on the north, the chapter house and dorter on the east, the warming house and refectory on the south, and the cellarer's lodging and prior's house on the west. The rere-dorter lies immediately south of the dorter, over a stream which connects with the Nar further down, and is one of the most perfect examples of its kind that we know; and the kitchen was semi-detached on the south-west of the refectory.

The original church of the beginning of the twelfth century consisted of a presbytery of three bays with an eastern apse, and narrow aisles of two bays each also ending in apses; a central tower; north and south transepts each with an apsidal chapel, and a nave and aisles of seven bays with two western towers.

Mr. Hope says:

"Although it was only 200 ft. long, the existing remains show that architecturally the church was a building of considerable importance, and, despite its small size, with its three towers, it must have held a high place among the Norman churches of East Anglia."

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1 Bloom, *Notices of Castleacre, Historical and Antiquarian*, 1843; Harrod, *Castles and Convents of Norfolk, s.v. Castleacre*, 1857; St. John Hope, *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xii., pp. 105-157, 1894.

Early in the fourteenth century it was lengthened 32 feet by the addition of three new bays to the presbytery and a square end, after the then prevailing English style, given to it. In this respect it exactly followed the lines of Rochester, Lindisfarne, and many another then transformed Norman church. The walls of the eastern half of the church are now reduced to only a few feet in height, owing chiefly to the poor character of the masonry, which is in strange contrast to the extraordinary solidity of the Norman work; but many interesting features can be made out. Some idea of the importance of the quire stalls may be gathered from the fact that in 1413 (or 1414) Master John Waryn, chaplain, and Richard Burk, carver and carpenter, were sent by Mettingham College to Lynn and to Castleacre to view the stalls there before building new stalls in the collegiate church.

Of the central tower nothing is left but the stumps of the piers, three of which stand about six feet high, but the fourth remains to nearly the height of the springing of the arches. The nave has been so ruined that almost the whole of the clerestory and triforium are gone. Of nine out of the twelve piers only the stumps or bases remain, and of two more only the cores are left. The only perfect pillar is that which supports the south-west tower. The arcades were alike, but the piers carrying the arches were of a different pattern in each bay, those that were semi-cylindrical being deeply incised with spiral grooves or a bold fretting or lozengy diaper, like the well-known examples at Durham. At the west end is the wide Norman doorway with segmental rere-arch, and a rich relieving arch above. Over this is the lofty fifteenth century window, which replaced three tall Norman lights, with probably a wheel window above them.

Although the nave has been so completely ruined, the fortunate preservation of a single bay, which forms

the north side of the south-west tower, enables us to recover the complete design up to the wall-plate, and of this Mr. Prior gives an illustration, as a perfect example of late Romanesque art, in his book previously referred to. The excavations in 1889 showed that the nave had been paved with plain yellow and black or green tiles; but Mr. Hope was fortunate enough to uncover, at the west end, the remains of a very rich pavement of the thirteenth century, which is figured in his paper.

His description of the west front may be quoted as supplementary to what has been previously said:

"Externally the west front is a very fine and rich example of Norman architecture. The central part, which forms the west end of the nave, has in its lowest stage the principal doorway, of four orders, with detached jamb shafts (all now lost), and elaborate mouldings of various patterns—billet, chevron, double-cone, and lozenge; the capitals are uncarved. The doorway is set in a triple series of wall-arcades, the lowest having interlacing arches (previously described) and carved capitals divided by ornamental string-courses. Below the third or uppermost string-course is a curious corbel-table with ornamental panels between. Above the doorway stage is a row of chevrony arches, upon which stood a tall arcade of five arches with richly ornamented jambs and mouldings. The outermost pair are mere panels, filled with a large trowel-point diaper; the other three were destroyed when the great Perpendicular window was inserted, but were probably windows."

The construction of the gable is uncertain. The twin towers, originally of four stories, corresponded perfectly with the rest of the facade, and were ornamented in the same way. The general appearance of the whole church, as may be seen even in its ruin, must have borne out fully the bold and massive character of Norman architecture, so well described by Sir Walter Scott in his reference to Lindisfarne:

"In Norman strength that abbey frowned,
With massive arches broad and round,
That rose alternate row on row
On ponderous columns short and low;
Built ere the art was known,
By pointed aisle and shafted stalk,
The arcade of an alley'd walk
To emulate in stone."

The cloister was about 100 feet square, and was surrounded by covered alleys with wooden lean-to roofs. The first of the buildings round the cloister was the chapter house, originally a handsome and lofty Norman room, abutting, as was usually the case, on the transept. In spite of the fact that it is almost entirely denuded of its ashlar facing, the stalls for the monks and the prior's throne can be well made out, and here we can picture the brethren sitting in solemn conclave on many an important occasion. The dorter was a large and airy building with a vault beneath, and the steps leading up to the monks' dormitory are still intact. The outer wall is fast crumbling to decay, and would have fallen ere now had not Lord Leicester taken the precaution to shore it up with great baulks of timber.

The rere-dorter, or *necessarium*, is, as already stated, wonderfully well preserved. Nothing but the foundations remain of the refectory and kitchen, and the other domestic buildings are mostly in ruins.

In the prior's lodging, approached by a flight of stone steps from the outside, there is a beautiful upper room with two oriel windows on the west; this is divided now, by a wall containing two fireplaces set back to back, from the prior's private chapel. Both these are of the fourteenth century, and the latter contains a fine carved stone seat for the prior on the south side of the altar, and a fine east window. The former still retains one or two interesting corbels, one especially, representing an angel bearing a guitar or mandoline, being noteworthy.

Parkin, Blomefield's continuator, thinks that this upper floor was originally entirely taken up with the chapel, and that the division was only made in the early sixteenth century, and the western half connected with the prior's dining hall or reception room. He describes the oriel window on the north (which is a bow consisting of nine panels, supported externally by a buttress of

considerable projection, upon which rest two moulded transverse arches or squinches of decorated date, the one on the west being square ended) as having formerly contained the following arms in stained glass: "in the first panel the arms of the priory painted on the glass; in the second, the arms of the Earl of Arundel and Earl Warren quarterly, but now broke and gone; in the third, Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, gules, a lion rampant, argent; fourth, the red and white rose united, and a crown over it; fifth, France and England, quarterly; sixth, the rose, etc., as above; seventh, Earl Warren's arms; eighth, quarterly, the Earl of Arundel in the first and fourth quarter, and in the second and third Matravers sable, fretty, or, and Fitz-Alan, Baron of Clun, p. fess, azure and argent, quarterly; ninth, argent, a cross compony or and azure, between twelve cross crosslets, fitché, sable; the priory arms, as I take it, and these letters I. W., joined together by a knot and under it SPIRITU. PRINCIPALI. CONFIRMA. ME. By this, it appears that this window was built by John Winchelsea, prior in the reign of Henry VII. or VIII."[1] But all has now disappeared.

The rest of the buildings in this part, which were somewhat extensive, and comprised the prior's domestic apartments and the guest house, etc., are now a farmhouse occupied by the aged caretaker and his family. In Mr. Bloom's time, one of the granges of the priory, with its massive timber-supported roof, still existed near the gatehouse in its original state, and he gives a good view of it; but it has since been taken down.

The gatehouse itself has been already described. The monks' cemetery was to the east of the church, and the infirmary was to the south, and east of the dorter.

Returning once more to our stand beneath the trees, and looking through the great door, we take a parting glance at the ruined piers and walls that are all that

[1] Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, vol. viii., p. 374.

now remain of the once noble church; and turning to the right we note the fine appearance, even in its decay, of the prior's lodging, now given over to the use of the ancient caretaker, who watches over the desolate fane. In other days this resounded to the prayers and praises of the pious community, and our hearts are sad as we think of the cruel decree which banished from the country-side men who, with all the faults which they doubtless shared with the rest of our frail humanity, were a centre of light and leading, of education and charity, to the people among whom they dwelt, and who certainly, in the midst of a world of turmoil and contention, turned men's thoughts to the abodes of heavenly peace, and kept the lamp of faith burning brightly before the shrine, which spoke to ears, dulled by the things of earth, of the beatific vision and the rest that awaits the saints.

Many there are, perhaps, who are inclined to echo the lines of Wordsworth in his survey of ecclesiastical history, as he thinks of the lives of the monks:

> "Majestic domes! following my downward way,
> Untouched by one regret I marked your fall!"

But the sight of England's ruined convents must move them, too, to feel with him:

> "Now ruin, beauty, ancient stillness, all
> Dispose to judgments temperate as we lay
> On our past selves in life's declining day:
> For as, by discipline of time made wise,
> We learn to tolerate the infirmities
> And faults of others, . . .
> Teaching us to forget them or forgive,
> Perversely curious, then, for hidden ill,
> Why should we break time's charitable seals?
> Once ye were holy, ye are holy still,
> Your spirit let me freely drink and live!"

WALSINGHAM PRIORY

By Philip Sidney

THE glory has departed from Walsingham Priory, once so famous, not merely within East Anglia, but throughout all Europe, as a resort of pious pilgrims, eager to worship in its chapel and to adore its relics. It is difficult, indeed, for us to realize clearly nowadays that its crumbling walls and ruinous arches, with the sleepy villages in their vicinity, were for centuries the meeting-place of pilgrims congregating thither from all parts of Great Britain and from abroad, who came to venerate the wonder-working relics displayed to their credulous gaze by the Augustinian Friars of Walsingham Priory. Next, in fact, to the shrine of "Saint Thomas of Canterbury," Walsingham, in spite of its secluded position in the north of Norfolk, attracted to it a greater number of pilgrims and sight-seers than did any other religious edifice in England. To such an extraordinary extent, indeed, did pilgrims in their countless numbers crowd the narrow lanes and roads of the Eastern Counties *en route* to visit this Norfolk monastery, that it was vulgarly supposed the very stars in their courses helped to guide the patient palmer to its locality, and the constellation of the "Milky Way" in the heavens became known as "Walsingham Way."

The Augustinian Priory of St. Mary the Virgin at Little Walsingham, in Norfolk, was founded by Geoffry de Favarches about the year 1149. He gave to Edwy, his clerk, who bequeathed it to the Canons Regular of the Order of Saint Augustine, a chapel (together

with some lands), which had been built and dedicated to the Virgin by his mother, Richoldie de Favarches. This chapel had been erected by this lady on account of a supposed apparition on its site of the Virgin Mary. The chapel resembled somewhat the larger *Santa Casa* of Loretto, but it is absurd to assert, as so many antiquaries have taken upon themselves to do, that the original chapel at Walsingham must have been copied from the *Santa Casa* at Loretto, since the *Santa Casa* did not reach Loretto, or rather was not set up at Loretto (it was supposed to have been brought over by angels from Palestine), until some hundred and fifty years after the foundation of Walsingham Priory by Geoffry de Favarches. Again, it is equally erroneous to state, as most authorities dealing with Walsingham have stated, that Richoldie de Favarches built her chapel in the year 1061, for it is evident that it must have been several decades later. She could not have built it ninety years before her son's departure for the Holy Land, as we are practically asked to believe by these writers in question.

Walsingham Priory began first to attract the attention of pilgrims early in the eventful thirteenth century, when it soon won sufficient fame to excite the curiosity of kings and queens. Henry III. visited it in 1241, and his example was followed by his successors, Edward I., Edward II., Edward III. (probably), Henry VI., and Edward IV. and his Consort. In the year 1364 David Bruce, King of Scotland, accompanied by a retinue of twenty knights, stayed at the monastery on his way to Edinburgh. In 1486 Henry VII., having spent Christmas in state at Norwich, "went from thence in manner of pilgrimage to Walsingham, where he visited our Lady's Church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance." In 1487, after the decisive battle of Stoke-on-Trent, the same monarch sent "his banner to be offered to our Lady of Walsingham," in gratitude for the triumph of his forces over the impostor,

Lambert Simnel. Henry VII. was again at Walsingham on August 23rd, 1498. During the next reign Walsingham Priory saw Henry VIII. appear before its gates as a humble pilgrim, he having walked to it from East Barsham in order to bestow a valuable necklace upon the image of the Virgin. On his way he stopped at the pretty Decorated chapel at Houghton-le-Dale, where the pilgrims took off their shoes, and which has lately been renovated and restored with much care and skill. This was in 1510. Three years later Queen Catharine of Aragon, when on her way to Walsingham, received the welcome news of the great victory of Flodden Field, as we readily learn from the following important letter to her husband, absent in France:—

"Sir,

"My lord Howard hath sent me a Lettre open to your Grace, within oon of myn, by the whiche ye shall see at length the grete Victorye that our Lord hath sent your subgetts in your absence; and for this cause it is noo nede herein to trouble your Grace with long writing, but, to my thinking, this batell hath been to your Grace and al your reame the grettest honour that coude bee, and more than ye should wyn al the crown of Fraunce; thankend bee God of it: and I am suer your Grace forgetteth not to doo this, which shall be cause to send you many moo suche grete victoryes, as I trust he shal doo. My husband, for hastynesse, with Rogecrosse I coude not sende your Grace the pece of the King of Scots cote which John Glyn now bringeth. In this your Grace shal see how I can keep my premys, sending you for your banner a Kings cote. I thought to sende hymself unto you, but our Englishmens herts wold not suffre it. It shuld have been better for hym to have been in peax than have this rewarde. Al that God sendeth is for the best. My lord of Surrey, my Henry, wold fayne knowe your pleasur in the buryeng of the King of Scotts body, for he hath written to me soo. With the next messanger your Graces pleasur may be herein knowen. And with this I make an end: praying God to sende you home shortly, for without this noo joye here can be accomplished; and for the same I pray, and now goo to our Lady at Walsyngham that I promised soo long ago to see. At Woborne, the xvj. day of Septembre.

"I sende your Grace herein a bille founde in a Scottishmans purse of suche things as the Frenche King sent to the said King of Scots to make war against you, beseeching yowe to sende Matthewe hider assone this messenger cometh to bringe me tydings from your Grace.

"Your humble wife and true servant,

"Catharine."

WALSINGHAM PRIORY.

A reference to the "Paston Letters" reveals that Margaret Paston, with others of her family, was a devout client of our Lady of Walsingham, and in the year 1443 we find her writing thus to her brother John, then lying ill at the Inner Temple in London:—

"My moder be hestyd[1] a nodyr ymmage of wax of the waytte of yow to oyer ladie of Walsyngham, and sche sent iiij nobeelys to the iiij Orderys of Frerys at Norweeche to pray for you: and I have be hestyd to gon on pylgremmays to Walsyngham, and to St. Levenardys[2] for yow.

To John Paston also wrote a certain Justice of the King's Bench, saying:

"I recomaunde me to yow thankynge you as hertilye as I can for myselff, and specially for that ye do so moche for Oure Ladyes hous at Walsyngham, which I trust veryly ye do the rather for the grete love that ye deeme that I have thereto: for trewly if I be drawe to any werschep, or welfare and discharge of myn enemys daunger, I ascryve it unto Oure Ladye."

In the year 1511 (six years before Cardinal Wolsey visited it) Walsingham Priory achieved additional and, in truth, enduring fame by the visit of Erasmus, who has left on record a most vivid and entertaining account of his pilgrimage, just as he has of his journey to the still more precious shrine of Archbishop Becket at Canterbury Cathedral.

The amusing revelations of Erasmus concerning the adroit manner in which the friars at Walsingham imposed upon wealthy pilgrims admit of no valid doubt that the condition of things prior to the dissolution of the house was truly deplorable. I append, as below, extracts from Erasmus's description of the chapels at Walsingham, and of some of their relics:—

"Within the church which I have called unfinished is a small chapel, made of boards, and admitting the devotees on each side by a narrow little door. The light is small, indeed scarcely any but from the wax lights. . . . When you look in, you would say it was a mansion of the saints, so much does it glitter on all sides with jewels, gold, and silver . . .

[1] Vowed.
[2] St. Leonard's Priory, Norwich.

To the east of this is a chapel full of wonders. Thither I go. Another guide receives me. There we worshipped for a short time. Presently, the joint of a man's finger is exhibited to us, the largest of the three. I kiss it, and then ask, 'Whose relics are these?' He says, 'Saint Peter's.' 'The Apostle?' I ask. He replied, 'Yes.' Then observing the size of the joint, which might have been that of a giant, I remarked, 'St. Peter must have been a lusty man of great size.' At this one of my companions burst into a laugh; which I certainly took ill, for if he had been quiet the sexton would have shown us all the relics. However, we pacified him by giving him a few pence. Before the chapel was a shed, which they say was suddenly, in the winter season, when everything was covered with snow, brought hither from a great distance. Under this shed are two wells, full to the brink; they say the spring is sacred to the Blessed Virgin. The water is wonderfully cold, and efficacious in curing pains in the head and stomach. . . . They affirm that the spring burst suddenly from the earth at the command of the Blessed Virgin. Whilst looking carefully around at everything, I asked how many years it might be since the little house was brought hither; he answered, 'Some centuries.' 'But the walls,' I observed, 'do not bear signs of age.' He did not dispute the point. 'Nor even the posts.' He allowed that they had but recently been put up; and, indeed, they spoke for themselves. Then said I, 'The roof and thatch appear to be new.' He agreed. 'And not even the cross-beams, nor the rafters appear to have been up many years.' He assented. 'As no part, then, of the old building remains, how,' said I, 'do you prove that this was the cottage brought from afar?' . . . He immediately showed us a very old bear's skin fixed to the rafters; and almost ridiculed our dulness in not having detected so evident a proof. Thus convinced, and asking pardon for our slowness of comprehension, we turned towards the heavenly milk of the Blessed Virgin. . . .

"The milk is kept on the High Altar, in the centre of which rests Our Lord. . . . It is dried up; you would say it was ground chalk, mixed with white of egg. . . . As soon as the attendant saw us, he came forward, donned his surplice, clapped a stole round his neck, prostrated himself, and adored: anon he held out the thrice-holy milk for us to kiss . . . Meanwhile, the attendant approaches us, saying nothing, but holding out a little slab, such as are presented by toll-collectors on German bridges. . . . I gave a few pence, which he offered to the Virgin. Presently, by means of an interpreter well skilled in that language, and a youth of considerable courtesy—his name, if I mistake not, was Robert Aldrich [1]—I inquired (as civilly as I could) by

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1 Robert Aldrich was a master at Eton College, of which he became Provost. In 1537 he was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle. Aldrich died in Lincolnshire about twenty years later. He protested against the Reformed religion in the reign of Edward VI.

what tokens he was assured that this really was the Virgin's milk? . . . At first, the attendant frowned, and remained silent. I directed the interpreter to repeat the question, but more politely even than before . . . But the attendant, as if possessed by a fury, looking at us aghast, and horrified seemingly at our blasphemy, answered, '*What need to ask such questions, have you not the authentic inscription?*' "

That the sarcastic Erasmus did not exaggerate the sad state in which this wealthy monastery had fallen at the time of his visit can be proved by an examination of the list of questions afterwards propounded to the friars by the Commissioners, directed by Thomas Cromwell, acting on behalf of the Crown. The completion of the drastic inquisition instituted by the Royal Commissioners was attended by the same results as those following the other inquiries held into the condition of the various religious houses in England and Wales, and Walsingham Priory was dissolved, its Prior (Richard Vowell) and his brethren expelled, its notorious image of the Virgin taken to Chelsea and burnt,[1] and its relics, rents, revenues, and offerings all confiscated. The following were the articles of inquiry submitted by the Commissioners to the Prior of Walsingham:—

"1. *In primis;* whether there be inventarie allweys permanent in the house betweene the prior and the brethren of this house, aswelle of alle the juelles, reliquis, and ornaments of the churche and chapel, as of alle the plate and other moveable goodes of the house? *Et si sic exhibeatur.*

"2. Item; yf there be no such inventarie, whether there be any bokes made therof, and of the guyfte of the juelles that have bene given to our ladye? *Et si sic producatur.*

"3. Item; whether any of the said juelles, ornaments, plate, or goodes hath bene alienated, solde, or pledged at any tyme heretofore? And yf there were, what they were, to whom they were solde, for how moche, whan, and for what cause?

"4. Item; what reliques be in this house that be or hath bene moste in the estimacion of the people, and what vertue was estemed of the people to be in theym?

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1 "Our gret Sibyll, with her old sister of Walsyngham, her younge sister of Ipswych, with the other two sisters of Doncaster and Penryesse wold make a jooly mustere in Smythfield" (Latimer).

"5. Item; what probacion or argument hath they to shewe that the same are trewe reliques?

"6. Item; in howe many places of this house were the said reliques shewed, and whiche were in whiche; and whether the kepers of the same did not bring about tables to men for their offering, as though they would exacte money of theym, or make theym ashamed, except they did offer?

"7. Item; for what cause were the said reliques shewed in divers sundrye places more than altogether in one place?

"8. Item; what hath the offering made to our ladye, and to the said reliques, bene worth a year when it hath bene moste? What commonly? And what the last yere?

"9. Item; yf the said reliques be nowe layde aside, howe long ago, and for what cause, they were so?

"10. Item; what is the gretest miracle and most undoubted whiche is said to have bene doon by our ladie here, or by any of the said reliques? And what prouffe they have of the facte, or of the narracion thereof?

"11. Item; whether than (yf the facte be welle proved) the case might not happen by some naturalle meane not contrarie to reason or possibilitie of nature?

"12. Item; yf that be proved also, whether the same might not procede of the immediate help of God? And why the successe of that case shulde be imputed to our ladye, and yet that to the image of our ladye in this house more than another?

"13. Item; whether the miracles were wonte to be declared in pulpite heretofore, and for what cause they were soe? Whether a Whitsonne Monday the faire tyme they were wonte to be opened?

"14. Item; what is the saying of the buylding of our lady chapelle, and of the firste invencion of the image of our ladie there; what of the house where the bere skynne is, and of the knyght?[1] And what of the other wonders that be there, and what proves be therof?

"15. Item; whether they knowe not that men shulde not be lighte of credite to miracles, unlesse they be manifestly and invinciblie proved?

"16. Whether our ladie hath done so many miracles now of late as it was said she did when there was more of offering made unto her?

"17. Item; what prouffe were they wont to take of the miracles that the pilgrims did reporte shulde be made by our ladie? And whether they beleved the parties oune reporte therein, or toke witnesse, and howe they toke the depositions of the same?

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1 "Our guide related that once a knight, seated on his horse, escaped by this door from the hands of his enemy, who was at the time closely pressing upon him. The wretched man, thinking himself lost, by a sudden aspiration commended his safety to the Virgin, who was so near, for he had determined to fly to her altar if the gate had been open. And lo! the unheard-of occurrence! On a sudden the man and horse were within the precincts of the church" (Erasmus). This knight was Sir Raaf Boutetourt, and this adventure occurred in the reign of Edward II.

"18. Item; whether our ladies milke be liquid or no? And yf it be, *interrogatur ut infra*.

"19. Item; who was sextene upon a tene yeres ago or thereabout, and lett hym be exactely examined whether he hath not renewed that they calle our ladies milke whan it was like to be dried up; and whether ever he himself invented any relique for the augmentacion of his proufitt; and whether the house over the welles were not made within tyme of remembraunce, or at the least-wise renewed."

From the scope and nature of these nineteen pertinent interrogatories, it will be gathered that the Commissioners must already have received pretty accurate information as to what had been going on behind the scenes at Walsingham during the last quarter of a century. The insinuation, for instance, conveyed in question 16, suggests they had secret intelligence to the effect that the more money was paid by the pilgrims, the more frequent were the miracles; whilst question 19 implies that they knew by what kind of process, and even by whom, "our ladies milke" was manufactured and manipulated, when occasion required its renewal. The tendency of questions 8 and 16 conveys the impression that the old substantial revenues of the Priory had slightly decreased of late, and although the learned Roger Ascham declared (at Cologne, in 1550) that "The Three Kings be not so rich, I believe, as was the Lady of Walsingham," he referred, probably, to the financial status of the Priory as it existed in the fifteenth rather than early in the sixteenth century.

After the final dissolution of the monastic houses in East Anglia, Walsingham Priory was purchased from the Crown in 1538 by Thomas Sidney, or Sydney, a neighbouring land-owner, for the sum of ninety pounds. This Thomas Sidney was Governor of the local Spital. Dying in 1543, he left his lands in Norfolk to his son Thomas, Customer of Lynn, who married Barbara Walsingham, sister to Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, whose only child, Frances, married Sir Philip Sidney. After Sir Philip's death, she married

that ill-fated favourite of Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Essex. Thomas Sidney left two sons, Thomas and Henry, of whom the latter eventually inherited his Walsingham estates.

This inheritor of Walsingham, Sir Henry Sidney, was one of the standard-bearers present at the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney, in 1587, at Old Saint Paul's Cathedral. Dying in the year 1612, Sir Henry, having no issue, bequeathed Walsingham to his widow for her lifetime, but on her death it was to go to his Kentish kinsman, Robert Sidney, afterwards Earl of Leicester, to whom it passed accordingly after the decease of Lady Sidney, in 1638. Lord Leicester, however, did not long retain the property, but soon sold it out of the family. Sir Henry's brother, Thomas, left no son, but had one daughter by his wife Mary Southwell, named Thomasine, who married Sir William Godolphin, and thereby became grandmother of Sidney, Lord Godolphin, the celebrated statesman, and ancestress of the existing ducal house of Leeds. Sir Henry Sidney and his wife Jane, daughter of Francis Jermy, of Brightwell, Suffolk, lie buried in an altar tomb in the north transept of Little Walsingham Church, a cruciform Perpendicular building, famous also for its Perpendicular font, which has a carved wooden cover presented by Lady Sidney in memory of her husband. This alabaster tomb of Sir Henry and his virtuous dame bears some very elaborate accessories, besides the life-size effigies of the knight and his lady, in the shape of ribbon-work and pilaster, filled in at intervals with cross-bones, skulls, pheons, and spades in the way of ornamentation. Sir Henry's recumbent figure is clad in armour, with a ruff round his neck, and his hands upraised in an attitude of prayer. In a letter from the Privy Council dated August 7th, 1597, Sir Henry Sidney is described as "A gentleman of good reputation and credit in the county of Norfolk." He is frequently mentioned, in connection with the affairs of the county,

THE SIDNEY MONUMENT, LITTLE WALSINGHAM CHURCH.

in the Domestic State Papers of his day. His home at Little Walsingham has long been pulled down, and a modern mansion adjoins the ruins of the Priory. In it there are good portraits of Charles I. and Bishop Warner, and a lace collar belonging to that king.

The remains of the once important and extensive[1] Priory of Walsingham are now but a shadow of their former selves, and afford little indication of what this Augustinian house was like in the zenith of its glory. Of the Chapel of Our Lady we have left the superb frame-work of the lofty Perpendicular east front, consisting of some stair-turrets, with niches and buttresses. The other remains include the massive Perpendicular West Gateway, part of the early Decorated Refectory, and the two curious "Wishing Wells," still alleged to possess the magic power of granting to their drinkers any secret wish they may make to themselves at the time. These wells were formerly covered over by a shed. Part of the dormitory is incorporated in the modern mansion.

The picturesque grounds in which Walsingham Priory lies located are now the property of the family of Lee-Warner, in whose possession they have remained since their purchase by the loyal Bishop Warner. Times have changed, indeed, and this once busy and populous pastoral corner of Eastern England now sleeps in peace, no longer trodden by the weary footsteps of the palmer and the pilgrim, or disturbed by the clatter of equestrian knights in armour, in attendance upon kings, riding proudly on their way to adore the sacred relics of Our Blessed Lady of Walsingham. The glory has departed, never to return.

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1 According to William of Worcester, the length of the great chapel was 136 paces by 36 paces broad; the cloister was square, 54 paces in each walk; the length of the chapter-house was 20 paces, by 10 paces broad; the length of the wooden chapel of the Virgin was 23 feet, by 12½ feet broad.

In writing about, or referring casually to, Walsingham Priory,[1] it must not be forgotten, to avoid confusion, that there was another, though less renowned, monastery in existence in the town, besides the better-known Augustinian habitation. This was the Grey Friars' house, founded by Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Clare, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Edward III. This Priory never became a house of exceptional wealth or importance, and was completely overshadowed by its more powerful neighbour. Between the Franciscan friars and their Augustinian rivals constant quarrels and disputes raged right down to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, the Augustinians doing all they could to injure their less opulent and popular opponents, who derived a large portion of their revenue by entertaining pilgrims proceeding to the *Casa Santa* of the older friary, from leading quiet or prosperous lives.

The ruins of this Grey Friars' monastery are neglected, but beautiful, presenting features of considerable interest to the historian and archæologist, although it is manifest that the chapel of the Franciscans could never have compared either in splendour or in magnitude with the larger of the Augustinian chapels visited by Erasmus. The Refectory must, however, have been a handsome building.

In concluding this account of the history of the past glories of Walsingham Priory, once the pride and cynosure of mediæval England, it may not be inappropriate to quote a few lines from a rare old English ballad, relating to the progress of a fair pilgrim (disguised as a man) engaged in wending her tortuous way through the winding paths and roads of East Anglia towards secluded Walsingham, there to make her humble offerings in expiation for the death of her lover, to whom

1 The Priory is now always known locally as the *Abbey;* but this is an absolute misnomer, as the monastery w ·ver at any time ruled by an Abbot.

she had been unkind. Upon this plaintive and curious poem Oliver Goldsmith seems to have founded his ballad of "Edwin and Angelina":—

"'Gentle heardsman, tell to me—
Of courtesy, I thee pray,
Unto the town of Walsingham,
Which is the right and ready way?'

"'Unto the town of Walsingham
The way is hard for to be gone,
And very crooked are those paths
For you to find out all alone.'

. . .

"'Now, gentle heardsman, ask no more,
But keep my secrets, I thee pray;
Unto the town of Walsingham
Show me the right and ready way.'

"'Now, go thy ways, and God before,
For He must ever guide thee still:
Turn down that dale, the right hand path;
And so, fair Pilgrim, fare thee well!'"

But no modern pilgrim, "fair" or otherwise, should bid adieu to Walsingham without visiting, in addition to the Priories, its two splendid churches. Of that at Little Walsingham we have already spoken, but the Decorated church at Great Walsingham is almost as fine, containing as it does, *inter alia*, some grandly carved benches. Here and there in the two little towns, also, are to be found several quaint houses and ancient inns; whilst overshadowed almost by the time-honoured tower of Great Walsingham church stands the picturesque Berry Hall, with its sweet old-world gardens, its pleasant lawns, and its placid pools, which were probably the stew-ponds of the monks.

KING'S LYNN[1]

By Henry J. Hillen.

ON the eastern side of the Lin—"a flat malarious world of reed and rush"—a few fragile huts might have been seen, tenanted by sturdy, uncouth fenmen, whose ancestors, after years of unremitting toil, had snatched from the covetous grasp of the menacing sea one of the many islets which dotted this treacherous, insalubrious lagoon. Again and again were the fruits of their labour swept away by the descending onslaught of the upland waters, or the remorseless inroads of the sea. Pitting their puny strength, with undismayed persistence, against the almost omnipotent forces of nature, they could in the end exult in that they were more than conquerors. Having secured a footing, though somewhat uncertain, they hunted wild animals in the tangled undergrowth, entrapped fish in the intricacies of the mere, and wrested from the sodden, unwilling soil a meagre crop, upon which their lives depended. After many centuries the mud-and-wattle dwellings disappear, and the foreshore is defined by more pretentious though still primitive buildings, and we behold the infantine presentment of what was subsequently designated "the ancient and loyal borough of King's Lynn"—an embryo Venice, not of the Adriatic, but of

[1] We have granted and by these presents do grant . . . to the Mayor and Burgesses and Inhabitants of our Borough aforesaid, that they from henceforth for ever, may have and bear the name of the Mayor and Burgesses of our Borough of Lynn Regis vulgarly called King's Lynn."—Charter, 29th Henry viii.

"Lynn Regis . . . that royal borough."—Madame D'Arblay's *Memoir of Dr. Charles Burney* (1832), vol. i., p. 86.

the English *estuarium metaris*, resting upon a few irregular, pile-protected patches, each environed by lapping streams, "fleet" in anything other than their velocity.

Here, upon what was once a prehistoric settlement, a Roman station was probably reared about the time when tidings of Christ arrived in Britain. Long before Marshland was overrun by Saxon freebooters, dwellings were scattered along the Lin, and before the Saxons were supplanted by Danish rovers, the settlement in the manor of Gaywood formed part of the see of Elmham, over which an East Anglian bishop presided. The Norman conquerors discovered a small town at least, if not a thriving port.

The word Lin in varying guises always referred to a distinct part of the Fenland, now appropriately termed "the Golden Plain of England." Lin, as a town, does not figure in the Domesday Book, neither does the far-famed Augusta (London), although its existence is incontrovertible. North, West, and South Lin (Lenne) are not met with until centuries afterwards. Camden suggests that Lin is derived from the British noun *lhyn*, a word denoting "a pool," or "broad-spreading water," as still used in Scotland; Spelman contends that *len* (Lenne) is the Anglo-Saxon equivalent for "a farm"; whereas Mr. Walter Rye regards the word as a transplanted rather than an aboriginal place-name, because in old documents it is generally spelt *Lin*, and he finds places with the same name in Denmark. That the piratical Danes left verbal traces behind them is already established. Of 256 places principally in north-east Norfolk, the names of 78 are wholly, and 53 in part, identical with place-names now in Denmark, whilst 125 either by prefix or affix are unquestionably of similar origin. For instance, Narborough is represented by *Knarreborg*, Marshland by *Marslund*, Rising by *Risinge*, and Lynn by *Luen* (a farm).[1]

[1] See Mr. Walter Rye's *History of Norfolk* (1885), p. 5.

Evidences, too, of Danish occupancy may be observed in the street nomenclature of Lynn as late as the eighteenth century; for the Danish *gata*—a way—appears in Highgate, Damgate, Briggate, Stonegate, Listergate, etc.

In the third decade of the seventh century, Felix, a Burgundian missionary, was chosen first Bishop of East Anglia by Sigebert, the newly converted Saxon King, and was duly consecrated by Archbishop Honorius. In all likelihood, Felix obtained the spiritual possession of the settlements upon the sparsely peopled foreshore of the entire district, including the burgh upon the Lin. The diocese was exceptionally large, embracing, as it did, the North and the South folk (Norfolk and Suffolk), and the duties pertaining to the episcopal office must have sorely taxed the strength of the bishop. Odinism was indeed declining, but an infusion of the Danish element, engendered by frequent incursions, caused many wide-spread revivals, so that a nominal acceptance of Christianity throughout the district did not exist until the end of the eleventh century. In the meantime, the diocese was divided into two parts—the cathedral church, a rude, wooden structure, continuing at Dunwich, whilst a suffragan bishop officiated at Elmham (A.D. 637).[1] Afterwards re-united, the old Saxon capital, so despised by the Norman ecclesiastics, was discarded for Thetford (1075), where it remained until Bishop Lozinga transferred it to Norwich (1094).

What a zealous, self-sacrificing prelate was Herbert de Lozinga! He built not only a cathedral in the middle of the diocese, but smaller churches at each extremity. St. Nicholas' at Yarmouth, and St. Margaret's at Lynn, appear to have been begun about the same time (1101).

1 It would be hard to determine whether the seat of the see was at North Elmham in Norfolk, or South Elmham in Suffolk. The late Henry Harrod set forth weighty arguments in favour of South Elmham. See *Suffolk Archæology*, vol. iv., p. 7. Dr. Jessopp and others have brought forward equally strong, or stronger, arguments in favour of North Elmham.

As the old burgh was now merging into a place of importance—the fowlers and fishers being succeeded by merchants, sailors, and burgesses, with mysteries at their fingers' ends—a church was indeed necessary; and Lozinga's edifice, by the edge of the gradually receding Lin, was reared for their spiritual benefit. Eborard followed Lozinga of the open hand and warm heart, but this dreary corner of the episcopal vineyard was no particular concern of his. Then came William Turbus, who, disregarding the corrupting ravages of moth and rust, had no objection to laying up a few terrestrial treasures, and, being of a speculative turn of mind, he proceeded to enclose a tract of sandy marsh to the north of the town, over which the spring tides perhaps still ebbed and flowed. This important land-reclamation scheme was undertaken between 1146 and 1174. A parchment roll (*circa* Henry V.), believed to be a faithful copy of an early survey of the *Newlonde*, as this fresh adjunct to the burgh was called, shews the amount of ground rent demanded by the bishop from each tenement.

Now, after Bishop Turbus had raised a protective earthwork, and laid out the new estate for building purposes, he erected a chapel-of-ease, and dedicated it to the memory of St. Nicholas; he also established a market and built a mill beside one of the numerous "fleets" which intersected the place, thenceforth known as the Bishop's Mill-fleet, to distinguish it from the Mayor's Mill-fleet in the older part of the burgh. Although apparently emulating Lozinga's example by granting the new church to the monks of Norwich, yet was it quite distinct, being "in his own liberty" and standing upon land reclaimed from the sea. Between the prior and the bishop there soon sprung up a feeling of rivalry and estrangement, because, as owners, each endeavoured to reap the greatest advantage from his possession. The prosperity of the town was threatened—verily it resembled a house divided against itself. It was

a twofold settlement, dualistic in many respects; there were two churches, staiths, markets, fairs, and mills, one of each being in the *soke* of the monks to the south, and the other being in the bishop's manor to the north. To the respective owners—the monks on the one hand and the bishop on the other—these were "valuable paying concerns." Large sums of money, such as legacies, donations, oblations of various kinds, and payments for the reciting of masses for the souls of the departed, were derived from the churches, whilst the dues levied upon those visiting the fairs and markets, as, for instance, *passage*, *paage*, *pontage*, *pickage*, etc., were even more considerable. Imposts, too, were fixed upon all goods landed at the different staiths or stages, besides *anchorage*, *tronage*, *lovecop* or *lastage*, *measurage*, at the haven.

By a crafty exchange effected by Bishop Grey, the domination of Bishop's Lenne drifted even more into ecclesiastical hands, so that the name it bore became trebly applicable. The wily prelate, with whom an impecunious monarch had pledged the nation's regalia, determined to exercise his power over John, on behalf of the burgh, which he had by diplomatic astuteness secured to himself. To these indirect motives we are indebted for our local Magna Charta, which the King granted primarily to gratify the desire of an invaluable favourite, rather than to enhance the happiness and prosperity of "the good folks of Lenne," as he flatteringly entitled the burgesses. From thenceforth, *Lenne Episcopi* was enrolled a *free* borough, "which at that time," observe Merewether and Stephens, "was a distinguishing mark of no slight importance" (1223). The inhabitants now enjoyed advantageous concessions; they could try anyone accused of theft within the burgh, and were themselves free from any suit of the hundred or county court for all tenures within the burgh; they were excused paying the many dues the bishop, as lord of the Seignory, levied upon strangers, and they were allowed to choose a

præpositus, or mayor. To their great annoyance they quickly discovered that the *præpositus de Lenne* was merely an automatic *poupée*, whose involuntary movements were skilfully manipulated by his reverence behind the scene. Yet was the mayor by no means irresponsible; his duties might be nominal, but his responsibility to a higher power was terribly real, because, as the King's representative, he was supposed to administer statutory law impartially. If not the actual nominee of the bishop, the mayor's condition was most servile. Before entering upon his brief lease of office, which might be terminated at any moment should he fail to render respectful homage to his lord and master, he was compelled to obtain an episcopal ratification. The continual interference of the bishop and his men-at-arms, to which must be added a laudable desire to fix their own assessments and to share in the government of their own town, as burghers were doing in towns of far lesser importance, led to a democratic revolution. And the fight for municipal freedom, which lasted two hundred years, constitutes in itself an absorbing chapter in the history of Bishop's Lenne.

Perhaps, at the onset, Bishop Lozinga contemplated building a church only; eventually, however, he erected the church and an adjoining priory, the memory of which is preserved in our "Priory Lane." In all probability, a humbler fane had previously occupied the same hallowed site, but no priory had ever been established there before. True, a church might exist without a priory, but no priory could ever exist without a church, because the church was an indispensable adjunct to a priorate. The Benedictine priory at Bishop's Lenne was, notwithstanding, only an offshoot or cell affiliated with the grand priory of the Holy Trinity at Norwich. Having built the priory to the glory of God, Herbert endowed the institution handsomely.

Startling abuses, here as elsewhere, crept insidiously into the brotherhood of monks, and never were they so

jubilant as when fleecing the parochial clergy. With an ever-swelling influx of wealth, they waxed more and more self-indulgent, slothful, and worldly. A quarter of a century before our priory was founded, a new order of monks from Clugni, in Burgundy, set out on a mission to England. The Cluniacs led exemplary lives, submitted to the most rigid discipline, and, moreover, vehemently denounced the degenerate disciples of St. Benedict. A grand religious revival ensued. Alas, in course of time, the Cluniacs (as also did their successors, the Cistercians) drifted astray, besmirching their robes with worldly mire, even as the frail Benedictines had done before them.

Then came the Salvationists of the Middle Ages, the humble followers of Giovanni Bernadone, St. Francis of Assisi; and St. Dominic, de Guzman. How quickly the religious crusade spread—the votaries of self-denial and holiness denouncing on every hand not only the worldliness of the established clergy, but the selfish luxury and moral depravity of the old monastic orders!

In a few years each of the four orders of mendicant friars had found a resting-place in the Bishop's burgh. The Franciscans and Dominicans, who, assisted by sympathising town-folk, established convents, were speedily followed by the Carmelite and Augustinian friars. So that about half a century after the first advent, members of the four orders were preaching the gospel of self-renunciation and holiness to the dwellers in Bishop's Lenne.

Time's unpitying ploughshare has spared few vestiges of their architectural grandeur! Their palatial homes, where kings and princes were entertained with prodigal yet befitting hospitality, are all but forgotten. A cemetery cross deposited in our museum,[1] and the word "Paradise"—a name found in the local directory—alone remain, indicative of the presence of those "zealous watch-dogs of the Lord"—the sombre Dominican preachers. A

[1] See the late Mr. E. M. Beloe's *Account of the Cemetery Cross of the Blackfriars at King's Lynn* (1884).

Our Lady's Chapel, on the Red Mount, Lynn.

The Grey Friars Tower, Lynn.

subtle association of words with ideas reminds the student of the cool, verdant cloister-garth, whither the jaded brethren were wont to retire after the fatigues of an arduous day spent in the indescribable slums of old Lenne.[1] An important cattle market in the *Paradise* Ward is held in what was once a meadow known as the "Paradise Garden." How literally reminiscent of the cloister sward in the vicinity, the earthly paradise so dear to the exhausted follower of St. Dominic! A solitary brick arch upon the east bank of the Nar, and a similar gateway in "Austin" Street, are the only visible signs of the Whitefriars and the disciples of St. Austin.

Rising, however, above the narrow, tortuous streets, with their branching rows of smoke-wreathed cottages, the visitor cannot fail to notice in the centre of this Dutch-like town a prominent landmark—the slender, hexagonal "Old Tower," the graceful lantern of the convent of the grey-robed Franciscans poised upon Gothic arches at the intersection of nave and transept (1248).

Besides the orders enumerated, the Sack Friars, whose patron was St. Anthony, owned a tenement not far from the Chapel of St. Nicholas. A survey in the time of Edward I. incidentally preserves the record of an inscription in front of the building. It was thus worded: "The Brethren of the Sack hold an area in which their church and habitation are constructed of the gift of Lord John de Vaux, R— de Westacre, and Richard, son of Adam de Wigenhale, and the heirs of Alexander Fitz-Parson acquitted them of their rent to the Bishop." Although situated in the Newlonde, and being held by a corporation or brotherhood "in the hands," by some pecuniary arrangement the poor Friars of Repentance were exempted from paying the customary ground-rent to the bishop. As the Council at Lyons suppressed all but the greater orders (1274), this brotherhood soon ceased to exist.

[1] The cloister sward at Chichester is still known as "The Paradise."

There were besides—the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in the Damgate (Norfolk Street), where Sir William Sawtre, the first of the brave Lollard martyrs, in a moment of supreme weakness was persuaded to recant (1399); the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen "on the causey" beyond the East Gate, built by pious Peter the Chaplain (1174), whose stone coffin was (if we mistake not) unearthed when preparations were being made for the erection of King Edward VII. Grammar School (January, 1904); St. Katherine's Hermitage; the Cowgate Lazar House, and the College of Secular Canons, the gift of benevolent Thomas Thoresby to the town (1510). Its beautifully carved door, from which the chisel of the ruthless iconoclast has chipped the obnoxious *Orate pro anima*, may yet be seen in Queen Street.

The inexcusable degeneracy of the monastic system, so painfully apparent to an ordinary fifteenth century observer, was generally acknowledged. Not, however, to the glory of God, but to appease his own inordinate extravagance, did Henry VIII. sweep away these once-noble institutions.

As an attractive mercantile centre Bishop's Lenne was early exploited by observant merchants. It was situated on an advantageous arm of the sea, and here, too, the largest cattle fair in the kingdom was held. Rightly, indeed, was the burgh denominated "the Key of Norfolk," because the county could only be entered on the west by one track—the road leading through Lenne. The town was, in fact, a convenient outlet for the produce of the surrounding district—a vast area comprising the greater part of at least seven counties. But Marshland, that luxurious grazing expanse, could not produce sufficient sheep, hence flocks were driven hither from the moors of Yorkshire, the highlands of Scotland, and the verdant slopes of the Pennine and Cheviot ranges. Enormous quantities of wool, fells, and hides were exported every year to the cloth-manufacturing towns of the Netherlands,

whilst other remunerative enterprises were conducted with Norway, Gascony, and the Rhine Provinces. In the twelfth century, William Newburg, a friar belonging to the Augustinian priory near Coxwell, in Yorkshire,[1] describes Lenne as "a noble city noted for its trade." Contributing 13·14 per cent. of the whole national duty (*quinzième*), it soon ranked fourth among the ports of the kingdom. At the beginning of the next century the payment towards the imperial revenue amounted to £600 11s. 11d.—a very large sum in those days. London, Boston, and Southampton alone disgorged more. This extraordinary prosperity may be attributed to the advent of the Jews, who dwelt in the more modern part of the burgh—the name of their Ghetto being yet retained in our "Jews' Lane" Ward; the origin of "the great river" in the time of Henry III., which facilitated inland communication; and the establishing of a mint, with the bestowal of power to strike coins.

But, from this auspicious period, there dates a gradual and irresistible decline. Attracted by so aureate a prospect, the adventurous merchants of the Hanseatic League opened a place of business—one of their many steelyards—upon the foreshore, just opposite St. Margaret's Church; but the zenith of their prosperity was reached, and nothing, not even the coming of the clever Flemish and Walloon weavers, could counteract the inevitable declension. When Edward III. summoned a fleet to assist at the siege of Calais (1374), Lenne occupied the tenth place in the seaport list, and though later times witnessed a marvellous expansion of the nation's commerce, Bishop's Lenne continually lagged behind, beaten in the race by more energetic rivals. Coming now to the eighteenth century, our port, owning less than a hundred vessels, ranks somewhere below Scarborough, which stands ninth. A similar comparison

[1] The author of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, which is regarded as the finest historical work by an Englishman during the thirteenth century.

of the number of vessels, with their tonnage, at the dawn of the next century, places Lynn twentieth among the British ports. Still further pursuing this regrettable *débâcle*, it is found thirty-eighth in 1872. Now, however, a cheering ray of hope breaks through the dark, depressing cloud, for after a lapse of one-and-twenty years Lynn is acknowledged to be the thirty-seventh port in the kingdom (1893).[1]

A general idea of the relative importance of the bygone pursuits of the inhabitants of this borough may be gained by scanning the manuscript list of its freemen. The mercantile section of the little community predominates, including traders owning their own craft, mariners, watermen, keelmen, and rowers; then come those who in some one or other capacity are engaged in the woollen industry, as, for example, spinners of yarn, weavers of fabrics, the shearmen, who raised the nap, the fullers and listerers, who respectively bleached and dyed the cloth, besides haberdashers, who sold *hapertaserie*, the width of which was regulated by the Magna Charta; kendalemen, who traded in a speciality for foresters[2]; hosiers, who could supply hosen—elongated stockings for the legs; and general woollen drapers. The remarkable influx of strangers, encouraged by Philippa of Hainault, the beautiful wife of Edward III., laid the foundation of our textile superiority. Through the migration of John Kempe, whom Miss Agnes Strickland styles "the patriarch of the Norwich woollen manufacture," that city developed into the Manchester of mediæval times. Spinning and worsted weaving absorbed the attention of nearly every household, not in the immediate neighbourhood alone, but throughout the entire district. In this lucrative employment Lenne, of course, participated, until the demand for exorbitant wages, coupled with faulty, disgraceful

1 See "The Growth of our Seaports," by Joseph Ackland, *Nineteenth Century* (1897), vol. xlii., pp. 411, 412.

2 Kendale Green was first made at Kendal in Westmoreland. The costume of Robin Hood and his merry men was of this fabric.

workmanship, ruthlessly sacrificed the phenomenally obliging bird which laid the golden eggs, upon which the prosperity of this part of England so greatly depended.

What a busy hive of contented artificers and craftsmen the town presented ere that insatiable craving for lucre began to undermine the integrity of the worker. Copying —or rather unconsciously imitating—a Roman custom, batches of the same tradesmen dwelt together in unity. In one locality, Skinners' Row (St. James' Street), a little colony of *skinners*, fur dressers, and parchment-makers might have been found; in another, Baxter's Row, were the miller and several bakers; whilst in a third, Butchers' Lane (Surrey Street), fleshers, fleshmongers, or butchers preponderated. The woollen market was held in *Woollen* or *Woolpack* Street (St. Nicholas' Street); in Spinners' Lane (Cattle Market Lane) were the spinners of thread and yarn; in *Websters'* Row (Broad Street) the weavers of worsted or cloth; in *Fullers'* Row (South Clough Lane) the scourers, whose fulling-mills were worked by the descending water of the Purfleet; in the *Listergate* (Chapel Street) the listerers or dyers; whilst those who dealt in divers mercery monopolised the *Mercers'* Row, the southern half of the present High Street.

Each artificer, enrolled a member of one of the many trade gilds, was bound to produce work akin to a prescribed standard of excellence, or be ostracized as unworthy of recognition by his fellow-workmen. In 1371, there were as many as thirty-eight guilds in Lenne. Contributing, as they each did, towards a fund for strengthening the town defences, their names have been rescued from oblivion. At different times, as Mr. Walter Rye assures us, no less than seventy-five gilds existed within our walls.

To the Merchants' Gild, the aristocratic Gild of the Holy Trinity, the borough is indebted for its so-called Town Hall. When this opulent fraternity was founded we are as unable to say as was Thomas Botesham, who,

in compliance with a statute passed in the reign of Richard II. demanding an account of all "gildable lands," reluctantly admitted "its origin was not known." The checkered flint and stone gable, with its beautiful Gothic window facing the Mercate of St. Margaret (the Saturday market), was begun in 1421-2. Referring to the ancient gild roll of the period, we decipher under the crabbed Latin heading, *Constructio Novo Aule: "xxxv li. xv s. iij d.* (that is £35 15s. 3d.) spent in wages of divers masons, working on the new hall, from the feast of Trinity to the same feast at the revolution of the year."

Again, £35 5s. 5d. was paid to Nicholas Rollesby, of Bakton, in the county of Suffolk, for timber for the said hall, "declared more fully and evidently in the separate account of Philip Franke." Moreover, John Turnour's workmen received £21 as wages. The then-called "new hall" occupied the site of an earlier one, which was unfortunately (to those interested in architecture) destroyed by fire when the messuage of Geoffrey Cattley adjoining was also burnt (1420-1).

Except for sundry crumbling parchment gild rolls (1389-1460) and gild books, the Gild of Corpus Christi, so renowned for its yearly spectacular pageants, has gone the way of other mediæval institutions—without bequeathing any architectural remembrance to posterity. The mutilated quoined gable and side buttresses of the Gild of St. George the Martyr may be seen in King Street. After many degrading vicissitudes, the hall, in which the brethren held their convivial *morowspeches*, is now used as a wool warehouse.[1]

Shortly before the death of Henry VIII. a Bill was submitted to the Commons, its object being the dissolution of the gilds or charitable corporations, the

[1] *Morowspech* from the Middle English *morwe*, *morwen*; Anglo-Saxon *morgen*, the morning; *e.g.*, "Good *morrow*, Valentine," that is "Good morning, Valentine." Anglo-Saxon *spæc*, a later form of *spræc*, from *sprec-an* to speak. Hence *morowspeche*—the morning speech, a business meeting of the gild.

chantries or side chapels endowed by pious individuals, the hospitals or homes for the aged and infirm, and the colleges—those small fraternities of clergy who were bound to conduct religious worship in extra-parochial churches, and in many instances, moreover, to instruct the children of the poor. By the re-enactment of this deplorable measure (November, 1547), which Edward VI., a dutiful though ill-advised youth, carried into effect, these inestimably useful mediæval benefit societies were doomed, and their vast possessions handed to the King.

Now the ecclesiastical yoke, under which the burgesses groaned so many years, was unexpectedly cast aside by Henry VIII., who curtly deposed our episcopal suzerain and took the patronage of the town into his own hands. By a second charter, devised mainly to emphasise the complete reconstitution of the borough, he decided among other things to change its name. No longer under the prelate as lord of the manor, the name must be altered. Henceforth, therefore, should the borough be known by all men as Lynn Regis, *vulgo* King's Lynn. Soon after, to apprise every stranger entering the East Gate of the fact, the Royal arms were placed above the arch.[1]

Not only was Lynn nominally but deservedly a *royal* borough; from first to last have its burgesses espoused the King's cause, in the face of overwhelming odds. Question the antiquity of the Lin-side burgh, but never cast doubt upon the loyalty of the burgesses, for have ye not heard how, in times gone by, they sheltered King John when fleeing before a host of enraged barons; how they befriended Queen Isabel in her dreary retirement at Rising; how generously they entertained King Edward when hotly pursued by the dread Earl of Warwick; and how bravely they defied the redoubtable enemies of King Charles? With such a record, we hesitate not to predict that the dwellers of King's Lynn will ever be as loyal in the future as in the past.

[1] The East, or St. Catherine's Gate, was taken down in 1800, because of the lowness of the arch. The late Mr. E. M. Beloe purchased the "Royal arms."

THE CARMELITES OF KING'S LYNN

A NEWLY-DISCOVERED CHARTULARY

By Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE Carmelite Friars, so-called from the place of their origin on Mount Carmel, were usually known in England as the White Friars from the colour of the cloak of their habit, which distinguished them from the Black Dominicans and the Grey Franciscans. These friars or friar-hermits are first heard of in the twelfth century, when they were driven forth from the Holy Land by the persecution of the Saracens. Their rule was founded on that of St. Basil; it was confirmed by Pope Honorius III. in 1224, and again in 1250 by Pope Innocent IV.

They reached England shortly before 1240 in considerable numbers, and established their first houses at Alnwick in the north, and at Ailesford in Kent; at the latter place, in 1245, the first European Chapter of the Order was held.

The mendicant friars must have made a special impression on Norfolk. Norwich, Lynn, and Yarmouth had establishments of each of the four great orders. There were also both Dominican and Austin Friars at Thetford; Franciscans at Walsingham; and Carmelites at Burnham Norton and Blakeney. It thus appears that the Carmelites occupied the strongest position in this county, for they were the only order of friars that had five houses. Two of the White Friar houses of Norfolk were among the first established in England. The house

at King's Lynn, then a seaport of great importance, seems to have been the first founded in this county, and it was quickly followed, in 1241, by that at Burnham Norton, of which considerable remains are still standing. The Norwich house was founded in 1256, that of Yarmouth in 1276, and that of Blakeney in 1296.

Neither Blomefield, the old voluminous historian of the county, nor Mr. Beloe, who has in recent years produced so attractive and accurate a work on King's Lynn, were able to find anything of particular moment or interest as to the White Friars of this town. When compiling accounts of the various religious houses of Norfolk for the second volume of the *Victoria County History*, issued in 1906, the present writer was only able to glean a very limited number of facts regarding the Carmelites of Lynn, and could not obtain the name of a single superior or prior with the exception of the one who signed the surrender. The information then collected may be thus briefly summarised.

The earliest record mention of the house then known was under the year 1261, when it occurs in a document relative to the obstruction of a lane, cited in Tanner's *Notitia*. The house stood in the south quarter of the town, close to the river Lynn. Blomefield says it was founded by Lord Bardolph towards the close of the reign of Henry III.

In 1277, Edward I. gave these friars six oaks for timber, from the forest of Sapley, for the works of their church. The order for these trees, dated March 17th, was addressed to Roger de Clifford, justice of the forests on this side Trent, but Roger reported that there were no trees in Sapley Forest fit for such a purpose. Whereupon, on April 17th, the King directed his steward, Richard de Holebrok, to supply the Carmelites with six suitable trees from the King's woods in his bailiwick, whenever it might be done with least damage to the King, and with the greatest convenience to the friars.

The Crown license was granted in 1285 to the Carmelites of Lynn to close a lane adjoining the cemetery of their church on the north, and to enclose the same with a wall for the enlargement of their churchyard, on condition of making another lane of like length and breadth over their own land beyond the wall.

William Lord Bardolph, who died in 1386, was buried in the Carmelite church of Lynn.

An interesting deposition made in the following century by Friar Peter, the sub-prior of this house, shows that the Hastings family were benefactors. At a trial, which was begun in 9 Henry IV., he stated on oath that the arms of Hastings had been painted in the priory for forty years past, and that they had a banner of the same arms forty-eight years before; Friar Alleyne, aged 59, deposed to the like effect.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 gives 33s. as the annual value of the parcel of land within the precinct walls, whilst a plot without the walls was worth 2s. 4d. a year. The house was forced to surrender on September 30th, 1538. The surrender was signed by Robert Newman, prior, and by ten others. They were turned out without a farthing of pension, and merely allowed a secular frock. It is greatly to the credit of the mendicant friars throughout England that the enforced dissolution of their houses found them, one and all, in a genuine condition of poverty, and without any landed property (except for one or two trifling exceptions) other than the ground on which the friaries were erected.

Within the last few months, however, a chartulary or register of the Carmelites of Lynn has come to light at the Public Record Office. It had hitherto been indexed as a general register of the Order in England, but on further examination proved to be a chartulary of their friary at Lynn. It is the more important, as so very few registers of friaries are extant; and this is only natural, for none of the mendicant orders, provided

their constitutions were closely observed, could hold any lands save the site of their house, or such adjacent plots as might be added to the site for the sake of extensions.

It consists of twenty-two vellum folios, begun to be written in a singularly clear and distinct minuscule hand towards the end of the reign of Edward I., with later continuations of the same century. Two of the folios are damaged and defective. It is also incomplete, the folios running, according to their original numbering, to 35, so that the first thirteen are unfortunately missing, whereon, doubtless, the story of their first settlement at Lynn was recorded.

Several folios bound up at the end with this register have no connection with it, and are left unnoticed in this account.

This short treatise is merely intended to give a general idea of the contents of this hitherto unnoticed manuscript, which is of much value both to ecclesiologists at large, as well as to local antiquaries. To give a regular abstract would take more space than can here be afforded; it is to be hoped that it will be eventually printed *in extenso*.

It opens in the midst of a bederoll or list of benefactors for whose souls the house was to pray. The first entry is that of Hugh de Bethle, who gave £60 to the fabric of the new church. This is followed by the name of Dominus Simon de Castre, formerly rector of the church of Bradwell, whose body was brought to Lynn from London and buried in the Carmelites' quire; he was benefactor in many other ways; he was to be held in perpetual memory at High Mass. In the same list appears the name of William Barsale, who gave £24 to the fabric of the new quire. Seven others are named in the writing of the original scribe. These are followed by entries, in a cursive hand, about the end of the fourteenth century, of several benefactors who made gifts of money to the house when William de Bobyforde was prior.

So far the list only mentions the souls of departed benefactors. After a short interval, on the same page, there is a further brief list of benefactors who were living when this register was first compiled, prayers being asked for their life and prosperity. The first-named are Dominus Thomas Bardolf, the founder (*i.e.*, refounder) of this convent, and Dame Agnes, his wife; and these are followed by Dominus Robert de Scalys, also described as a founder, and Dame . . . (erased) his wife.

Thomas Bardolf and Robert de Scalys are mentioned in the Patent Rolls as benefactors of the Franciscan friars of Lynn in the reign of Edward I. The next entry is for the life and safety (*incolumnitate*) of Alan, son of Richard, who gave the convent, on behalf of himself and his wife, 100 marks for the fabric of the new church. Thomas Pannot (or Paynot) and his wife had like claims on the prayers of the convent for their life and safety, on account of £100 gift, apparently for the same object, by which, too, they procured a perpetual mass. The list concludes with reminders of the lives of Hugh de Elyngham and Cicely his wife, of Agnes Grace, and of Nicholas de Massyngham.

The next folio is occupied with an incomplete list of the contents of the register. The third folio, which is imperfect and partly illegible, is occupied by transcripts of early undated charters, the last of which records the grant by Roger, son of Peter de Berwye, to Alan, son of Walter, of the parish of All Saints,' Lynn, of an acre of land. Several other grants or charters are cited on subsequent folios, which were apparently evidences affecting the site granted to the Carmelites. One of these, which is dated 1244, is witnessed, among others, by Gilbert, son of Warin, who was then mayor of Lynn. Two others, which are undated, are witnessed by John Despania, then mayor, and a third by William de Lyndesaye, who was also mayor.

Others of these various short deeds are dated respectively 1251, 1283, 1303, 1307, 1313, 1340, 1349, and 1352. It is difficult to see in some of these cases what connection there was between the deed and the friary; it is possible that permission may have been given in certain instances to prominent townsmen to enter transcripts in this register to serve as a record.

The names of these early mayors are of much value to students of the history of Lynn, for although there were mayors in the time of King John, very few are known prior to 1284, where the complete list begins. Gilbert, son of Warin, is mentioned in deeds of 1238 and 1246, which are cited by Blomefield.

The first of these deeds in which immediate mention is made of the Carmelite friars is an acquittance by Hubert, prior of Westacre, and his convent, dated 1283, whereby the prior and friars of Mount Carmel were released for the future from the payment of nine marks of silver annually on St. Botolph's Day to Westacre Priory on behalf of certain messuages they held in the parish of All Saints,' Lynn.

This is followed almost immediately by an undated grant by Alin, son of William, son of Peter, of South Lynn, to the Carmelite friary, of part of a messuage adjoining their house; the first witness is Alexander, then mayor of Lynn.

The grant to the Carmelites by Agnes Delby of another small adjacent plot is also witnessed by Alexander Kellot, mayor. Blomefield states that this mayor was admitted a brother of the Trinity Gild in the year 1248.

The transcripts of these various deeds is followed by the entry of a declaration made on St. Faith's Day, 1284, by William, the prior, and the Carmelite brethren of Lynn, with the assent of the provincial prior, that henceforth Herner, merchant of South Lynn, was to be held in perpetual memory at mass for the great benefits he had done to the house, and after his death the friars

were to daily say the *De profundis* and certain collects in quire, immediately after mattins, for his soul.

In 1378, the convent decided, when thirty-one friars were present, to pledge themselves and their successors to insure the perpetual memory of their prior, Hugh de Dowdale, during his life, and afterwards when dead, in return for his great benefactions to their house. The chief of these were providing stalls for the quire, leading the roof of the church, giving 180 marks in money, a set of vestments of ruby velvet, worth 100 marks, and two chasubles, with apparel, worth 40s. The *De profundis* was to be said for Prior Hugh after both mattins and compline, and during his life the collect *Deus qui caritatis*, with the clause *Da famulo tuo*, etc. Record is also made of the special prayers granted to Hugh de Dowdale in 1350 by the Carmelites of Norwich in recognition of his benefactions to that house.

An indenture was sealed at Lynn on 5th of February, 1366, to put an end to disputes as to the burial of parishioners of St. Margaret's in the Carmelite church. The particular cause of dispute at this date was the burial of Sybil, widow of Thomas de Breteham, a wealthy lady, by the Carmelites. The church of St. Margaret, together with the chapels of St. Nicholas and St. James, were in the custody of the Benedictine priory of Lynn, which was a cell of the great cathedral church of the Holy Trinity of Norwich. Ralph de Martham, prior of Lynn, covenanted by this indenture with John, prior of the Carmelites, that for the future, as often as any parishioners of the church of St. Margaret, or of the chapels of St. Nicholas and St. James, desired burial at the hands of the Carmelites, no opposition would be offered (in accordance with a privilege granted to the order by the apostolic see), and John, on behalf of the friars, promised in such cases to remit to the Benedictine priory a fourth part of the funeral fees and offerings.

The various documents transcribed in this register are entered quite regardless of chronological order. One of the next is a composition, of the year 1282, entered into between the friars and the perpetual vicar of the church of All Saints', in which parish their house stood, as to mortuaries, offerings, and other ecclesiastical dues.

This is followed by an interesting covenant between the two Carmelite houses of Lynn and Cambridge, sealed on October 5th, 1346, with the consent of the provincial chapter, whereby—to put an end to long and grievous disputes—it was agreed that Sutton (St. James), Tydd (St. Mary), Tydd (St. Giles), Dunton (?), and Leverington were to be considered under the jurisdiction of the Cambridge house, while Fleet, Gedney, Wisbeach, Elme, [Up]well, and [Out]well remained to the house at Lynn.

The Marshland district, where the counties of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln converge, was evidently a cause of much confusion. One of the chief duties of the mendicant orders was to serve as itinerant missioners throughout the villages in the neighbourhood of their establishments, as well as to minister to the humblest in the towns where their houses were actually planted. There are several other instances on record throughout England where adjacent friaries of the same order had to come to terms as to the parishes they should respectively visit. A somewhat like case to this occurred in the south of Norfolk, when the river Waveney was adjudged to be the general boundary between certain friars of Norfolk and of Suffolk.

Transcripts are given of five bulls of Popes Alexander IV. and Urban IV. (1254-1265), granting general privileges to the Carmelite Order.

Edward III., in 1348, granted license to John Bardolf, lord of Wormegay, to hold the manor of Stowebardolf in chief, at the rent of ten quarters of wheat and ten of barley, which were to be given yearly to the Carmelite friars of Lynn.

Licence is also cited from the same King, in 1352, to Thomas Cook and William Panely to grant to these friars a small plot of land contiguous to the precincts of their house at Lynn, together with two other licences of the like character during the same reign.

Towards the end of this register certain indulgences affecting this house are cited, after a curiously irregular order. Citing them chronologically, the earliest is an indulgence of forty days granted by Gilbert, Bishop of Hamerens, in 1273, to all who should devoutly say an Our Father and a Hail Mary in the Carmelite oratory at Lynn, or there make a pious offering. In 1275, Roger Skerning, Bishop of Norwich, granted an indulgence of thirty days of enjoined penance to those who were truly contrite and made confession of their sins, and who gave of their means towards the completion of the Carmelite church at Lynn, which had been begun after a sumptuous fashion, but was then at a standstill.

In 1276, William, Archbishop of Ragens, by commission from the Bishop of Norwich, solemnly dedicated the precincts (*area*) of this Carmelite house and the high altar, when, to encourage the devotion of the people, he granted twenty days of indulgence to those who assembled there on Sundays and prayed for the souls of the faithful departed, and another twenty days to those who did the like on the feast of the Assumption.

In the same year, Gilbert, Bishop of Hamerens, when at Lynn, on August 2nd, granted forty days indulgence to those penitents who came to the Carmelite friary to hear the Word of God preached for the health of their souls; and on August 7th, Mark, Bishop of Sodor and Man and the Isles, when at Lynn, granted a like indulgence on similar conditions.

In 1280, William Middleton, Bishop of Norwich, granted an indulgence of ten days of enjoined penance to all contrite persons who made offerings towards the

construction or sustentation of the church and other buildings of the Carmelites of Lynn.

In 1296, Ralph Walpole, Bishop of Norwich, granted indulgence of forty days to all the contrite faithful who should pray for the soul of John de Tudersham, whose body lay buried in the Carmelite church at Lynn, saying devoutly, with pious mind, an Our Father and a Hail Mary for the souls of all the faithful departed.

Particular interest attaches to the mention of these three bishops, who were extra diocesan. Gilbert Hammensis, whose name occurs once or twice in the Norwich episcopal registers, appears to have been the bishop of Hamerens, or Hamarensis, a Norwegian see, to which he was consecrated in 1263. He acted as an occasional suffragan of Norwich under Bishops Skerning and Middleton, and was buried at the Carmelite church, Norwich, on October 9th, 1287.

Mark, of Galloway, was intruded into the bishopric of Sodor and Man by the King of Scots in 1276, in opposition to Abbot Gilbert, of Rushen, who had been elected by the Manx clergy and people. He was consecrated at Tunsberg, in Norway, by John, Archbishop of Drontheim. It seems probable that he landed at Lynn on his way back to his diocese, and that the enterprising Carmelites, in their anxiety to complete their church, secured from Bishop Mark one of his first exercises of episcopal authority in their favour.

William, Archbishop of Rages, *alias* Edessa, in Media, was an Englishman, and in 1265 he had the gift of the deanery of Wimborne until he could return to his see. He consecrated Roger Skerning, Bishop of Norwich, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on April 4th, 1266. The archbishop acted for many years as an occasional suffragan in Norwich diocese.

The last four folios of the register are taken up with the particulars of various corrodies granted by the convent

in the second half of the fourteenth century. These corrodies were life grants made by the convent of board and lodging within the precincts to benefactors in their old age, in return for substantial gifts. It will be noticed that the names of most of those to whom corrodies were allotted have already appeared among the donors of considerable gifts to the church.

The first of these enrolled corrodies is of the year 1368, when, on the Saturday next after the feast of St. Lucy the Virgin, a covenant was entered into between the religious men, the prior and convent of the brothers of the Order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel of South Lynn, on the one part, and Alan, the son of Richard Smith, of Lynn, and Alice, his wife, of the other part. By this covenant, the friars unanimously agreed, on behalf of themselves and their successors, to assign to Alan and Alice a chamber with an upper room within the convent manse suitable for their habitation for the term of their respective lives. Such a chamber was to be constructed and completely finished at the cost of the said Alan and Alice, and out of material found by them; they were also to have the use of a hall called the hall of Richard Benecroft, in the absence of the said Richard. Free egress and ingress was to be allowed to Alan and Alice and their servants, and to any faithful and honest guests or visitors, either through the gates called Cartegates, leading to Suthsoken, or through the gates called Barfotes gates, leading to Coldhyrne.

Alan and Alice were further entitled to free access to the church, through the midst of the cloister, to hear devoutly mattins, mass, and the other divine offices. For their board, they were to receive weekly eighteen white convent loaves, and six of inferior corn, each weighing fifty shillings sterling, and fifteen gallons of convent beer, and daily from the kitchen four dishes of convent potage, and one dish with a pittance of flesh. Free access was permitted to them and their servants to the kitchen

fire for preparing any other victuals that they might buy. Every feast of St. Michael they were to receive four stone of good cheese.

The next corrody was a like undertaking to provide board and lodging for Hugh and Cecily Elyngham, dated 1377, and was probably undertaken on the death of Alan and Alice of the previous covenant. The terms of both are almost identical, save that Hugh and Cecily had sixteen instead of fifteen gallons of convent beer per week. An interesting entry gives the names of all the friars who were in the chapter house on Michaelmas Day, 1377, when the common seal was attached to this corrody. They were John Hovyngham, the prior, Peter Wysebech, bachelor (degree), William Cokysforthe, Edmund Barsham, William Spalding, Nicholas de Lynn, Thomas Lomb, Robert Swerdiston, John de Lynn, John Fusham, Robert Bylveye, William Walthon, Robert Walsoken, John Cole, Richard Bethenham, Stephen Worthstede, John Splueye, Richard Northale, Richard Wysebeck, John Schipedeham, Thomas Castre, Thomas de Lynn, William Babynglee, John Hyndringham, Peter Benet, Thomas Wissyngset, Thomas Peneryt, John Brunham, Roger Barsham, Robert de Northwyco, Walter de Lynn, William Gedeneye, John Wysebech, Richard Sumette, William Harwyk, Richard Rowham, John Oxenford, William Elm, William Bardefeld, and John de Cambridge. This list shews the importance of this house, the inmates present on this occasion numbering forty.

In the following year another corrody contract was made by the convent with Thomas Paynst, senior burgess of Lynn, and his wife Joan; and there are also entries of other corrodies granted to John Baker in 1366, to William Asspelond and Agnes his wife in 1374, and to Agnes Grace in the same year.

Sufficient has been set forth in this sketch of a brief and, unfortunately, incomplete friary register—which we believe to be the only one extant of any English mendicant

house—to show that it is of exceptional interest and value. From it can be gleaned the names of five of the Carmelite priors of Lynn, as well as of several mayors of the borough. The intimate connection that existed between these friars and the corporate and social life of the town is manifest; whilst the keen desire to obtain burial within the precincts, and the gifts made by leading townsmen to the building of their church on a noble scale, are clear proofs that the ministrations and lives of the Carmelites were much appreciated.

When Henry VIII., in 1538, so wantonly seized the friaries and ejected their inmates, the sites of all the four Lynn houses—Carmelite, Dominican, Franciscan, and Austin—were purchased of the Crown by John Eyre, one of the King's auditors or receivers. Eyre also obtained no small share of other monastic lands, including much that had pertained to the abbey of St. Edmund's. He, in his lifetime, conveyed the four priories to a priest, from whom the corporation of Lynn purchased those of the Carmelites and Franciscans. Eyre married the widow of Sir John Spelman, but died childless. In Spelman's *History of Sacrilege*, the loss of trade at the port of Lynn, and the decay of its prosperity, is assigned to the corporation entering into things consecrated to God—by the purchase of the Carmelite and Franciscan churches, by their purchase of the impropriation of St. Margaret's church, and by "defacing the church of St. James, perverted to be a town's house, for the manufacture of stuffs, laces, and tradesmen's commodities, whereby they thought greatly to enrich their corporation and themselves . . . but it came to nought."

It only remains to express our gratitude to Mr. R. C. Fowler, of the Public Record Office, for kindly calling our attention to this document.

GREAT YARMOUTH[1]

A SHORT SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

By Richard F. E. Ferrier

THE ancient borough of Great Yarmouth is situated at the eastern extremity of Norfolk, in the Hundred of East Flegg, having been built on the banks of the Yare and the Bure, from the former of which it takes its name. In early times, an estuary, or arm of the sea, made its way to Norwich. The Romans sailed up this estuary with their galleys, and formed to their left on a promontory—which is now known as Burgh Castle—a large camp, having its west side open to the water which ran below, and which they called Gariannonum. They also formed a summer camp on the opposite bank at Caister, and pressing onwards, they established their great camp, as some think, at Norwich, but more probably at Caistor St. Edmund's, three miles away, where there are extensive remains of a camp.

After the withdrawal of the Romans, England became open to the incursions of the Saxons, and by this time the sand-bank at the mouth of the estuary having gradually become dry, it was in A.D. 475 given by Cerdic and his son Cenric, the victorious Saxon princes who landed there, the name of Cerdic Shore, to commemorate their conquest over the Britons.

1 In preparing this brief sketch of the history and of some of the antiquities of Great Yarmouth, the writer is entirely indebted to the several local histories of the town and county, and in many instances passages have been extracted verbatim.

Subsequently a town was formed on the marshes on the west side of the river, probably on the site of the present hamlet of Southtown, which is now part of Yarmouth. This they called Garmud, and it was long afterwards called Little Yarmouth, and was divided into two towns or parishes, namely, West Town and South Town. But the marshes at that time proved an unwholesome situation, and many of the inhabitants crossed to the Cerdic Shore, and there laid the foundation of Great Yarmouth.

From the earliest times—

"sundry fishermen of this Kingdom, as also of France, Flanders, and the Low Countries, yearly, about the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, resorted thither, where they continued in tents made for the purpose, by the space of 40 days, about the killing, trimming, salting, and selling of herrings to all that thither came for that purpose."

Such was the concourse of people at this season, that the Barons of the Five Ports, then the principal fishermen of England, appointed bailiffs to attend during the fishing season from Michaelmas to Martinmas for the preservation of peace and security of property, and as early as the Confessor's reign, Yarmouth is referred to as a borough in a charter granted by that King to the Barons of the Five Ports, and seventy burgesses are mentioned in Domesday Book.

In consequence of the development of this trade, and of the increasing numbers attracted to the town thereby, King Henry I., in the ninth year of his reign, appointed an officer, called the Provost, whose duties included the collection of customs, and the accounting for the same to the King, and under his rule Yarmouth flourished until the reign of King John. This monarch, in the ninth year of his reign, granted the burgesses of Yarmouth a charter, which was, in fact, the Magna Charta of the town, whereby this ancient borough was created a free borough, and the burgesses were thereby invested with many immunities and privileges, with the right to hold

it in fee farm, paying to him and his heirs an annual rent of £55 for ever; from this time electing their own magistrate, whom they called a bailiff.

An extraordinary attempt was made in the reign of King John to re-people the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk with Frenchmen. The King, in great need of military aid in his wars with the Barons, had bribed one Hugh de Boves, a famous French knight, to assist him by the grant of these counties. De Boves, with his followers and their families embarked at Calais, intending to conquer and drive out the inhabitants and settle here. Great must have been the surprise of the people along the Norfolk and Suffolk coasts, when, after a violent storm, hundreds of bodies of French soldiers, as well as women and children, were washed ashore in such numbers as to cause a sickness amongst those dwelling there. The surprise was turned into great rejoicing when they learned from what a terrible destruction they and their wives and little ones had been delivered. Matthew Paris estimates the number of lives lost at 40,000. They were not, however, long left in peace, for Louis the Dauphin of France, who was assisting the Barons against John, came over with his army and ravaged both counties.

In the reign of Henry III. was granted to the burgesses a right to elect for their magistrates four wise men of the town, or, in other words, four bailiffs. This mode of government continued until the reign of Henry VI., when it was altered to two, and in the reign of Charles I. an attempt was made to substitute a mayor, but such was the opposition to this that the old form continued until 1684, when King Charles II. granted a charter requiring the election of a mayor instead, and by it the number of "four and twenties" was reduced to eighteen aldermen, and the "eight and forties" to thirty-six common councilmen.

By general proclamation of James II. this was abrogated, and the government again vested in two

bailiffs, and so continued until 1703, when by a charter of Queen Anne, which was the twenty-fifth and last charter granted to the borough, the office of mayor was revived, and has continued ever since.

King Henry III., who gave the burgesses the power to elect four bailiffs, also granted them the right to keep a gaol for prisoners and malefactors, and a building, probably erected early in the thirteenth century, was utilized by the town for this purpose.

Before King John's charter, the Provost had administered justice at the north end of the town, at a place known as the King's Conge, but after the grant of that charter, the same building used as a gaol was used also as the Court of Justice, and later as the meeting-place of the Corporation. This building, which was the centre of the civic life of the town, and where the town's customs or tolls were collected, was known as the Tol-house. In Gaol or Middlegate Street, formerly the chief street of the town, may still be seen this quaint old building, very much in appearance what it was six hundred years ago. Its chief feature is an open external staircase, leading up to the first floor, where the great hall is situated. It was here that justice was administered during the Free Fair in a unique form, the bailiffs sent by the Barons of the Cinque Ports sitting side by side with the bailiffs of the town; the former, by the chartered rights of the town, having the power of life and death—a power not possessed by them in their own towns. This combination resulted in continual quarrels and struggles, the town bailiffs very much resenting the interference of the visiting bailiffs; and, Swinden says—

"occasioned such horrid discords, war and confusion, as the like perhaps never happened for so long a time between any two places in the British Dominions, the whole nation being sometime alarmed at their debates, riots, and depredations on each other."

These disturbances continued until at last, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, matters were finally settled to the satisfaction of each party.

THE TOLHOUSE, GREAT YARMOUTH.

In 1648, when Lord Fairfax marched into the town and Colonel Barkstead's regiment was admitted as a garrison, all the military councils were held in this hall.

Below the large hall is the hold, or gaol, into which all prisoners were formerly thrust indiscriminately, and chained to a beam which was placed in the centre of it. On the same floor were the gaolers' apartments.

In 1550, the Corporation obtained a conveyance of the castle of Yarmouth, with the intention of using the building as a court-house and gaol, but it does not appear that it was put to either of these uses. This castle was situated near Row 99, which to this day is known as the Castle Row. It passed at the time of the Conquest, with the manor of Yarmouth, from Guader, the Saxon Earl of Norfolk, to De Gournay, a Norman knight, who, as a reward for his services, obtained large possessions in England. No doubt, whatever rights were possessed by the Saxon Earls over Yarmouth passed to the Gournays, but such rights could only have been exercised under authority of the Crown, Yarmouth being *terra regis*, and, upon the grant of King John's charter, must have entirely ceased.

In Domesday Book it is recorded that in the Confessor's reign there was a chapel dedicated to St. Benet standing on the Denes at a place called the "Green Hill," considerably north of the present town. The fishermen appointed a chaplain, who said masses for the souls of any of their number or others lost on the coast. As the permanent population increased, the Bishop of East Anglia also sent a priest to reside here. Blomefield thinks it highly probable that St. Felix, the first Bishop of East Anglia, built the church of St. Benet, and thus it for ever became attached to the see. Be this as it may, it is certain that the church of St. Benet gave place to that of St. Nicholas, which was undoubtedly founded by Herbert de Losinga, who came over from Normandy with William Rufus, and was eventually consecrated Bishop of Thetford

in 1091, procuring the transference of the see from Thetford to Norwich. This, the largest parish church in England, was commenced in 1101, and during the 800 years that have passed, what a chequered history has it seen! The building has undergone so much alteration at different periods, that little perhaps of its ancient appearance is retained. When first built, it was not the "spacious and lightsome" church described by Manship, the historian, but comprised only a portion of the present nave and chancel, with transepts and a tower at the intersection. From time to time the church was enlarged and beautified, till at the period immediately preceding the Reformation, Palmer says—

"the interior must have presented a very grand appearance. It was entirely open from end to end, unencumbered by galleries and pews, the chancel merely separated by a screen of open woodwork, elaborately painted and decorated. Entering the nave by the great west door, the high altar, resplendent with plate and sacred vessels, might be seen at the extreme east end—a distance of 225 feet; the lofty roofs were studded with emblasoned shields and devices, the walls were adorned with pictures and hung with banners, whilst 'the dim religious' light emitted through the windows of stained-glass fell upon a floor covered with sepulchral brasses and other memorials of the dead. In the aisles were side chapels, each having its altar, and a light burning before its patron saint. The 'soul awakening' tunes of the organ and the 'solemn chaunt' of the choir swept down the nave and floated indistinctly away; whilst priests in their gorgeous robes, and monks in their sombre vestments, made solemn procession through the sacred edifice."

At the Reformation, all that was dignified and beautiful in the decoration and service of the church was removed, on the plea of its savouring of superstition, and the sepulchral brasses were cast into weights for the use of the town.

After the execution of Charles I., when the Puritans were all-powerful, the church was divided up and appropriated chiefly to their own use by the Presbyterians and Independents, only the nave and south aisle being left for the churchpeople of Yarmouth. Even after the restoration of the monarchy, the church remained

in its barren and disgraceful condition until the middle of the last century, when restoration was commenced, and the old church was re-opened in its original proportions in 1864, since which date the work of restoration has been continually going on. The tower and spire were always conspicuous as a land and sea mark, and in the event of any attempted invasion, a red flag was ordered to be hoisted there, so that the danger signal might be seen and repeated from every church tower in Norfolk.

In briefly noticing the religious houses and monasteries, not much now remains to indicate the large share in the public life of the Middle Ages taken by the religious orders.

The Priory Hall, to the south of St. Nicholas Church, was in the middle of the last century fortunately restored, after having for over 600 years passed through many vicissitudes, and is now used as a boys' elementary school. When Bishop Herbert built the church of St. Nicholas, about the year 1100, he gave it to the prior and monks of the Holy Trinity at Norwich, to whose Benedictine convent he had already attached the cathedral. They thereupon established a cell at Yarmouth, and supplied chaplains to serve the church. The establishment consisted of a prior and eight Benedictine monks. The Dean of Yarmouth held his Court Christian here, and granted probates and heard matrimonial causes, and was sometimes accused of extorting higher fees than were his due. He also assumed jurisdiction over causes which properly belonged to the Bailiffs' Court, much to their wrath and indignation. In 1260 the priory was rebuilt and enlarged, when the temporalities of the church of Yarmouth were confirmed to the prior and monks residing there. It had a noble hall, with a carved stone screen at the west end dividing it from the buttery, kitchen, and domestic offices. At the east were the private apartments of the prior, with spacious gardens beyond; on the north were cloisters extending towards the church,

and enclosing the greenyard. The precincts terminated to the south at a row still called Priory Row, whence an arched gateway led into the central courtyard.

In 1551 a lease of the priory and parsonage of Yarmouth, and all the temporalities of the church there, were granted to one Sowell for a term of eighty years, reserving a clear annual rent to the dean and chapter of £32, Sowell providing the church with ministers and preachers. For centuries many of the distinguished visitors to the town were lodged at the priory. Richard II. was received here upon his visit to view the fortifications of the town in 1382. Mary Tudor, the French Queen, with her husband, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was lodged here for three days. In 1587 great preparations were made to receive Queen Elizabeth at the priory during her intended visit to the town, but being unfortunately prevented by an outbreak of the plague at Norwich, she sent the Earl of Leicester, Lord Burleigh, and other nobles, to express her regret, and they were "moste worthiley entertained and royally feasted" at the priory at the town's charges.

Subsequently these buildings fell into a very ruinous condition—a portion was converted into cottages, and the great hall itself was filled with earth and rubbish, and converted into stables.

The friars, who, in spite of their profession of poverty, gradually obtained great possessions, divided the town of Yarmouth as follows: the Dominicans, or Black Friars, established themselves in the south end of the town; the Franciscans in the central part; the Carmelites in the north end; and the Augustines in Southtown, with a cell in Yarmouth.

Speed asserts that every householder paid to each order of friars 1d. per quarter; they also derived a considerable revenue from the privilege of confessing, preaching, and begging. Another source of emolument

was the legacies continually bequeathed to them, particularly by persons desirous of being buried in conventual churches—a privilege much coveted.

The Black Friars settled in Yarmouth, according to William of Worcester, about 1267, and their convent was finished in 1273. This order was much encouraged by Pope Urban IV., who employed them to preach a crusade in England for the relief of the Holy Land, and also to collect money for various purposes, in return for which they were empowered to grant pardons and indulgences; and they were exempted from the jurisdiction of prelates, with other important immunities and privileges. There are now no remains to show the site of their monastery and church, but the position and extent of their precincts are pretty well known. They comprised an area of about six acres—in shape, oblong—bounded by the town wall at the south-east, on the north by the street known as Friar's Lane, abutting westward upon the haven, as all the houses along the quay are described to do in ancient deeds. This monastery was probably surrendered, as there is no account of the prior being hanged. The lands and possessions of the Black Friars passed, after the Dissolution, to one Walton, and later, after many changes, were bought by Roger Drury, of Rollesby.

The Grey Friars (Franciscans) probably came to Yarmouth soon after 1226. Their convent monastery was dedicated to St. Francis, and was governed by one of the society, elected by the majority, and called the "Guardian of the Order." The boundaries of their property cannot be accurately defined now, though it is certain that they extended from the river on the west to Middlegate Street on the east, and from Row 83 on the north to Row 96 on the south. The buildings extended over the ground now occupied by Queen Street, near the centre of which was the Conventual Church, with handsome cloisters on the south side. Some portions of the latter still remain; the springing of the arches may be

seen in the cellars of the modern buildings, and the richly ornamented groined roof can be traced through some adjoining cottages. These cloisters formed a square, enclosing a "green yard" extending to a wall still remaining at the back of some modern cottages in Row 95, where may yet be seen the stone mouldings and mullions of some windows fronting the north, which probably belonged to the conventual buildings. The bailiffs frequently held their courts within the cloisters of the Grey Friars. By the monastic registers, it appears that many of the once powerful family of Fastolfe were buried there. The convent, with all buildings, gardens, and orchards, was granted to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. After his disgrace they were granted to his nephew, Sir Richard Williams, Knt., who had taken the name of Cromwell. After many changes, these lands passed to the Corporation as early as 1569, and were again sold later to Mr. John Woodroffe for £2,600, upon the condition that he would cause a broad row and a narrow row to be made upon the premises. The broad row is the present Queen Street. From time to time human skulls and other bones have been dug up—probably of persons buried in the church of the Grey Friars.

It may be interesting to note that recently a small private company has been registered under the name of the "Great Yarmouth Historical Buildings Limited."[1] This association was formed for the purpose of acquiring and preserving the relics of ancient Yarmouth. It has received good support, and has been able to acquire the remains of the cloisters of the Grey Friars, thus preventing any chance of its demolition. It has also acquired the adjoining cottages, which contain a perfect piece of groining springing from carved corbels; this, happily,

1 The directors of this company are Mr. R. H. I. Palgrave, F.R.S. (chairman), Mr. E. W. Worlledge, Mr. F. Burton, Dr. John Bately, Mr. W. Edgar Stephens, Mr. Charles S. Orde, and Mr. Richard F. E. Ferrier, the latter also acting as secretary.

St. Nicholas Parish Church, Great Yarmouth.

has been concealed and preserved by a flat ceiling. It is hoped that this association may in time acquire most of the interesting relics in the town, that they may be preserved for future ages.

The Carmelites, or White Friars, convent was founded in 1278, and dedicated to St. Mary. Their possessions are supposed to have extended from the west side of the Market Place and Church Plain to the South Quay, a part of which was called White Friars Quay. All traces of the church and conventual buildings, however, have disappeared. In 1544 the possessions and lands of the Carmelites suffered the usual fate, and were sold to various persons.

The Augustine Friars, at the end of the thirteenth century, finding the town of Great Yarmouth already divided between the other orders of friars, decided upon Little Yarmouth, or Southtown, for their priory, and a house was founded for them by William Woodroffe and Margaret his wife at the boundary of Southtown and Gorleston, bounded on the east and west by the high-road leading to Lowestoft and Beccles. Considerable portions of the conventual buildings, including an entire arch belonging to a gateway on the Beccles Road, remained until the beginning of the nineteenth century, but have entirely disappeared. This house had also a cell in Yarmouth, the remains of which, converted into a store, are yet to be seen in Howard Street—the adjoining row still being known as Austin Row—popularly corrupted into Ostend Row.

The church of the Augustines stood wholly in Gorleston, and possessed a square embattled tower of cut flint about 100 feet high; but the church was destroyed at the Reformation, with the exception of a fragment of the east wall of the tower, known as the old steeple wall, which was brought to the ground with a mighty crash in a gale in 1813. Many relics and stone coffins

have from time to time been dug up on this site. At the Dissolution, this priory shared the fate of all similar establishments.

One of the great features of the old town is its common rows or lanes. These are narrow streets crossing the town from east to west, at frequent but irregular distances. Palmer says:—

"a fanciful suggestion has been made as to their first formation by supposing that each fisherman spread out his nets to dry, leaving a narrow passage between his fleet of nets and his neighbours for the convenience of gathering them up again and also to distinguish them, and that in process of time these narrow passages became defined and were permanently retained. Certain it is that the herring nets, spread out to-day upon the Denes, with the narrow passages between them, form some resemblance to the plan of the old town."

Manship, writing in 1619, says:—

"There were 140 rows, whereby," he adds, "every householder to his private dwelling hath, for all necessaries, very convenient conveyance; and the same in time of hostility, for the defence and safeguard of the towne, very meet and necessary; for one man against twenty with shot and powder is able to make resistance."

In olden times the houses in these rows were occupied by the merchants and trading people of the town, and in one cottage, which no doubt is a portion of a large mansion, may still be seen a room with wood panelling, and a very rich and elegant pendant ceiling, exhibiting in the centre compartment the arms of James I. These rows are now inhabited by the poorer classes, and are crowded by buildings where once were large gardens attached to many of the houses. The average width of these rows is only six feet, and one row, called "Kitty-witches" Row, at one end only measures two feet three inches. As there were only two streets running parallel to the rows, which were situated at Fuller's Hill to the north, and Friar's Lane to the south, it was necessary that special carts or conveyances should be constructed for pleasure as well as for trade purposes. These were respectively called Yarmouth coaches and Yarmouth carts,

and were quite different from any conveyance in use anywhere else. They were about three and a half feet wide, and about twelve feet long, the wheels being attached underneath the body of the cart to reduce the width as much as possible. These carts were drawn by one horse, the driver standing at the back. Mentioning the pleasure car, De Foe says, "People are carried here all over the town and from the seaside for 6d. on what they call a coach; but it is only a wheelbarrow, drawn by one horse, without any covering." At the heads of these rows the beadmen or bellmen of old used to pray for the souls of those who had left money for that purpose, and the watchmen used to call out through the night the time, wind, and weather for the information of those comfortably in bed, thus giving a timely warning to thieves and dissolute persons of their presence.

As old, if not older, than the rows were the first walls or ramparts, or some other fortifications surrounding the town, which appear to have existed in the time of Edward the Confessor. Of these, however, there is no authentic account.

In very early times it was the duty of the inhabitants to fortify their towns, a duty which took the form of personal assistance in the work. This personal service was in later times commuted for a payment called murage, and officers called muragers were elected as late as the nineteenth century. The burgesses of Yarmouth also obtained from the King a grant empowering them to levy, for the same purpose, certain customs upon the merchant strangers trading there, and sums were collected; but in consequence of no attempt being made to commence the walls, and there being no certainty as to the date of their commencement, the merchant traders rebelled against the imposition, and preferred a complaint, which resulted in the grant being withdrawn and the money collected handed over for the King's use. In 1260, King Henry, recognising the importance of the

situation of Yarmouth as a key or entrance to the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, granted a charter to the town empowering them to fortify the town with a wall and moat, and to take all means to secure themselves against a foreign enemy. Notwithstanding this, owing to private feuds and jealousies, the work was not commenced until 1284, and then no continuous progress was made, owing to various accidents, particularly to a terrible plague in 1349, which, it is said, carried off most of the inhabitants, so that the walls were not completed until 1396. Grants of murage were again made to the town from time to time, which were levied upon all goods imported or exported.

The walls, which were built of cut flint and bricks, with stone brought from Caen probably for ornamentation, were commenced at the north-east tower in St. Nicholas's churchyard, called King Henry's tower; and the work then proceeded in a southerly direction to the Blackfriars tower at the south end, after which the work was continued from King Henry's tower to the north-west tower on the bank of the Bure. A large portion of this last wall, on the north side of what for many years was known as Ramp Row, and now called Rampart Road, was demolished a few years since, in consequence of a resolution to that effect passed by a majority of the members of the Corporation.

There were nine gates, of which the two principal were the north gate and the south gate. The former was flanked on either side by square towers of curious workmanship, and, tradition says, was erected at the expense of persons employed in the revolting though necessary office of interring the dead during the plague, by which they amassed considerable sums of money. The south gate, differing in architecture, was supported by two round towers of great substance. This was known as the Great Gate. There were sixteen towers, each presenting a circular front, with a flat side adjoining the wall. Outside the walls was a large moat, over which a bridge was

thrown at every gate, and very jealously preserved by the magistrates, as the records show, by many fines imposed upon those who had been guilty of throwing rubbish or stones into it.

In the reign of Henry VIII., when war had been declared against France and Scotland, the Duke of Norfolk was appointed to examine the state of the defences, and in his report to the King, he says of Yarmouth:—

"It is as prayte a towne as I knowe anywhere on the sea costes; and as thriftie and honest people in the same; and right well buylded: but surely if an Armye Royall shoulde come thither, considerynge the bullwarkes whiche shulde beate the rode be but of earthe (as bankes made of turves) and so farre distaunte from the towne, I thinke it shulde be no greate adventure for a good puyssance to lande there and burne the said towne . . . that any galyes and shyppe botes shulde in the nyght cumme on land there, such as shulde keepe the said bullwarkes shulde not onely be in daungier to be loste but allso as moche ordenaunce as ever lefte in them might be taken awaye by thennemyes and yet the said bullwerkes made to good purpose for defence of a fewe nombre to remayne there."

The result of this report was that the gardens adjoining the walls were laid open, and the sand-banks accumulated outside brought in by the inhabitants to make a rampart of earth, so that in a few weeks the town was considered sufficiently fortified against both enemies. Three times afterwards these fortifications were inspected and strengthened, once at the time of the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada, and again in 1625, when a timber jetty was built on either side of the haven, and a new boom placed across the haven to open and shut at pleasure, like that erected in 1588, which was then decayed. Twenty-four pieces of ordnance were mounted at different points, and an artillery yard provided, the Corporation paying a stipend to a Mr. Dungaque "to teach the inhabitants feates of arms," and in 1631 the town trained bands were ordered to be exercised in the artillery yard weekly. When, in 1642, the town declared in favour of the Parliament, the defences were again repaired and

added to, and a large moat, sixty feet wide and eight feet deep, made along the north end of the wall from the river Bure to Pudding Gate.

From the reign of James II. the fortifications were gradually suffered to fall into decay, many of the towers became private property, and the gates from time to time were removed, the reason assigned in some cases being "that the same were very hurtful to the fishing netts going on and off the denes, on account of the nails in those gates projecting out," a discovery, says Palmer, which it had taken some centuries to make. The south gate, by which King William III. entered the town when he landed at Yarmouth in 1692, was removed in 1812. Of the towers, a few only now remain, and three, namely, the south-east, Harris, on the Blackfriars Road, and the north-west on the bank of the river Bure, are the property of the Corporation.

If the preservation of Yarmouth in early times depended mainly upon its walls and fortifications, of equal importance to the success of its trade were the existence and maintenance of a good haven. The inhabitants of Yarmouth fully appreciated this, and during the history of the town no less than seven havens have been cut out. The original haven, called Grubb's Haven, made its course to the north of the present town, over what is now known as the North Denes, and had not this haven very early in its history become stopped up by the sand drifted by the wind and sea, the town, instead of occupying its present situation, would doubtless have extended to the north towards Caister. The filling up of Grubb's Haven caused a diversion of the rivers into the south channel, which found the sea about four miles south of the present haven between Corton and Lowestoft. This also becoming stopped up, trade was impeded, to the great detriment of the town, and the inhabitants petitioned the King (Edward III.) for permission to cut a haven nearer to Yarmouth, against Corton. This was done, and

after being maintained at great expense for twenty-six years, became dammed up, so that the ships were forced to discharge in Kirkley Road, near the mouth of the haven. By this the town would have lost its dues, had not the King, at the earnest petition of the burgesses, been pleased to unite Kirkley Road to the town and port of Yarmouth, and to grant to the burgesses the right to receive dues there as at Yarmouth, for which privilege they were to pay him £5 yearly.

This concession was prompted, no doubt, by the substantial assistance rendered to the King by the townsmen of Yarmouth at the battle of Sluys, in Flanders, or by the even more important service rendered by the forty-three ships sent to his assistance at the siege of Calais. This power the burgesses retained and enjoyed, notwithstanding the many attempts by Lowestoft to wrest it from them. One commission which dealt with the disputes gives the curious decision "that the right, although detrimental to Lowestoft, was more commodious than discommodious to the King and his people." The object of the burgesses from this time was to bring their haven nearer to the town, and the old books show the untiring energy and indomitable perseverance of the people to effect this, no less than six further havens being cut at enormous expense. The various sovereigns, clearly realizing the great importance of the port of Yarmouth, and the assistance always rendered by the town in national defence, ever received the numerous petitions of the burgesses with kindness and generosity. Manship gives the following vivid description, showing the earnestness and enthusiasm displayed in the construction of the seventh haven:—

"So desirous was everyone to further the business that voluntarily there laboured of men and women and children to the number of 1,000 persons, and it would have rejoiced the heart of any man to see the forward disposition and willing working of the people—some standing in water up to the middle, others filling and carrying of baskets; the magistrates overseeing, with many their brethren and others encouraging

the people, who did endeavour not only with all their mind and affection inwardly, but also with their bodily strength outwardly, to go through stitch in the business By means whereof on the 4th day of March following the waters did run forth and proved a good haven," as it is to this day.

"The early history of the town sufficiently proves that the men of Yarmouth were very zealous in the defence of their liberties, and indeed their origin and character rendered them more independent than the people of other places. They had won their town from the sea itself, had supported themselves entirely from commerce, had been enriched by their Free Fair, but were not under the influence of any great lord or landed proprietor. They were ever forward to defend their king and country when called upon to do so, and freely supplied ships and men for the exigencies of the State. When, however, the Crown attempted unduly to extend its prerogative and to levy taxes for the purpose of governing without a Parliament, Great Yarmouth was one of the foremost towns to offer decided resistance."

In the reign of Edward I., in 1294, the French made an attempt to invade England with a fleet of 400 ships, assisted by the treachery of Tuberville, an English knight, formerly a prisoner in France, who engaged to be able to deliver them the possession of one of the Cinque Ports, of which he was to have procured himself to be made warden. The plot was betrayed by a priest, whom Tuberville had taken into his confidence, and the projected invasion in consequence entirely miscarried.

The men of Yarmouth expressed their loyal indignation upon this occasion by putting to sea a fleet of armed ships, with which they proceeded to the town of Cherbourg, in Normandy, which they captured and burnt; while the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports ravaged the whole coast of France within twenty miles of Dieppe, capturing twenty Spanish ships bound to Flanders, which they carried to Sandwich in triumph.

The port of Yarmouth attained its greatest relative importance in the reign of Edward III., when it furnished the King with forty-three ships and upwards of 1,000 sailors for the siege of Calais, being a much larger number than could be obtained from any other port in the kingdom. In 1382, Richard II.,

"hearing," Manship the elder says, "good report of the town of Great Yarmouth, came in his own proper person unto the said town. Did view the same and liking very well thereof did grant such privileges as before that time had been by himself revoked upon the slanderous report of the men of Lowestoft."

Manship, in speaking of the worthy things that have been by this town performed, relates an incident of which he was witness:—

"When, in 1569, three tall barques or men-of-war appeared in the roads, and upon being sent unto by the Bailiffs to show their commissions, refused, for in truth they had none, but only a letter from Chatillon, the Admiral of France, which Queen Elizabeth had long since recalled and made void. Whereupon the town discharged their ordnance against them and struck the admiral half a yard above water, and they were forced to retire. In 1544, the men of Yarmouth again displayed their spirit and loyalty, when, during Divine service, a report was circulated that two crayers in the roads, laden with wheat for the service of His Majesty, had been boarded and carried off by two French ships. The town immediately manned a ship, pursued and overtook them, and after a skirmish rescued the prizes and brought six of the Frenchmen found in them prisoners to Yarmouth, where their purses paid passage before their departure."

During the memorable rebellion of Wat Tyler in 1381, a detachment of the rebels, under the command of John Littester, a dyer of Norwich, marched into Yarmouth, to the great consternation of many of the inhabitants; they plundered houses, broke open the gaol, and set the prisoners at liberty, three of whom they executed. A party of the townsmen arming themselves, attacked and routed the rebels just outside the walls, many of whom they killed.

The loyal burgesses were again called upon to defend their town when attacked by rebels sent by Kett in 1548

to demand provisions for his camp on Mousehold Heath. Upon their refusal, the rebels marched into the town, seized the two bailiffs, and carried them off prisoners to Norwich. Escaping back to Yarmouth, they roused the town to a sense of its danger, and put it in a state of defence against another attack. In the meantime, the rebels, furious at their failure, seized the rising ground on the other side of the river, now known as Ferry Boat Hill, intending to again attack the town. The men of Yarmouth, realizing their object, and seeing the necessity of prompt action, and noting the northerly direction of the wind, sent a few valiant citizens secretly across the river to set fire to a huge stack of hay standing on the marshes on the west side, and under cover of the smoke, which was driven directly towards the rebels, they came upon them unseen, and after a sharp fight utterly routed them, capturing their guns and a number of prisoners. This defeat only further enraged the rebels, and they made preparations for another attack from the denes at the north end of the town. The burgesses, however, were well prepared for them, and the cannon upon the wall and upon the mount at the Market Gates played such havoc with them, that the rebels were forced to be "packing home," the men of Yarmouth pursuing them as far as Caister.

In 1395 great enormities were committed by Danish pirates cruising off the coast. Several small ships were fitted out to engage them at the expense of the people of Yarmouth, Norwich, and the coast towns adjoining, and falling in with the Danes at sea, a sharp conflict ensued, in which the Norfolk vessels were defeated and some of them captured and carried to Denmark, where the Danes obliged their crews to give large sums of money for their liberation.

The sturdy spirit of independence shown throughout the history of the town by the burgesses was particularly marked during the unhappy times of the civil war between

King Charles I. and the Parliament. They resisted the excessive exactions of the King, especially in the form of ship-money, and declared in 1642 for the Parliament; but later, when the Parliament in its turn attempted to invent means for raising supplies, and sent to Yarmouth for fit persons to be instructed with the business of erecting an office for the excise, the town declined to have anything to do with it. Again, when the Earl of Warwick, recently appointed Lord High Admiral by the Parliament, and who had been with all respect magnificently entertained by the Corporation, desired to know what prize-money had been taken, the town pleaded its admiralty jurisdiction as exempting it from making such returns. However, there is no doubt the town sided wholly with the Parliament, and Clarendon states that a meeting of great secrecy and importance was held by the principal officers of the army at the residence of John Carter, who was a leading townsman, had held the office of bailiff, and was one of the leaders of the town militia. It is said that at this meeting the trial and execution of the King were decided on.

"Certain it is that they chose to be above stairs for the privacy of their meeting, strictly commanding that no person should come near the room, except a man appointed by themselves to attend; their dinner, which was ordered for 4 o'clock, was put off from time to time until past eleven at night; when they came down, took a very hasty repast, and immediately set off, many for London and some for the quarters of the army."

Mr. Hewling Luson, in a letter to Dr. Brook in 1773 (published in Hughes' letters, vol. iii., p. 118), says:—

"When I was a boy they used to show me a large chamber in the house of Mr. Nathaniel Carter, which had also been the house of his father, in which, as the tradition went, the infamous murder of Charles I. on the scaffold was finally determined. Mr. Nathaniel Carter, who at the period referred to possessed the house, must have had personal knowledge of the occurrence."

On several occasions, Lord Nelson, who was born at Burnham Thorp, in Norfolk, honoured Yarmouth with

visits, always being received most enthusiastically by the people. He was presented with the freedom of the borough in 1800, and when about to take the freeman's oath, the Town Clerk, observing Nelson's left hand on the book, and thinking only of the legal impropriety, said, "Your right hand, my lord." "That," replied Nelson, "is at Teneriffe." He lodged at the "Wrestler's" Inn, a hostelry situated on the Church Plain, which exists to this day. Standing at an open upper window of this inn, and surveying the vociferous multitude below him, Nelson, much gratified, exclaimed: "I am myself a Norfolk man, and I glory in being so." There is another anecdote, illustrating the sympathy and kindness of heart which made him so beloved by all who came in contact with him. When visiting Yarmouth, having landed at the jetty from H.M.S. *Kite*, he refused to receive any of the congratulations or hospitality awaiting him until he had visited the hospital and said a cheery word to each of the sailors sent there to recover from their wounds after the battle of Copenhagen. On his return to England after the battle of the Nile, he visited Yarmouth and attended at the parish church of St. Nicholas, accompanied by the Mayor and Corporation, and all the naval officers then on shore, and a large number of the inhabitants, and offered up thanks to Almighty God for his safe return to his native country. It is said that when Nelson entered St. Nicholas Church the organ pealed forth, "See the conquering hero comes!"

On more than one occasion the Yarmouth burgesses have been the first in England to afford shelter and hospitality to royal refugees. In 1795 the Princess of Orange, with her daughter-in-law, the hereditary princess, and her little son of two years, who lived to become King William I. of the Netherlands, landed from one of a fleet of Dutch fishing-boats in which they had fled from their country, attended by Count Byland. The Stadtholder, finding that his subjects were very largely imbued with

the principles of the French Republic, and were determined, if called upon, to surrender him to the advancing French army, arranged for the flight of his wife, daughter-in-law, and little grandson. The mayor and other leading gentlemen of the Corporation, upon being informed of their arrival in Yarmouth, met them with carriages, and the military being drawn up in the Market Place, presented arms. The horses were taken from the royal carriage, and the populace drew it twice round the Market Place and on to the house of the mayor. Notwithstanding the great anxiety of their present circumstances, and the privations they had suffered in their flight and passage across a boisterous winter sea in the hold of a Dutch fishing-boat, they consented with great spirit to honour the mayor's dinner-party that night with their presence, and not until, in compliment to his royal guests, the mayor proposed the health of the Prince of Orange, did the younger lady, recalling the dangers in which he was placed, break down and faint away. In the meantime, after failing in a last attempt to persuade his subjects to make a stand against the French army, the Prince of Orange, with his son, fled from the country, embarking in a coal-barge, which landed them at Harwich. They proceeded at once to Yarmouth, and it would be impossible to describe the intense joy and relief of the princess when aroused in the middle of the night to welcome them on their safe arrival. The whole party left the town the following day for London. The day after their departure, the Duke of York arrived in Yarmouth to receive them, but finding they had left, immediately followed them to town. Twenty years later, it was the happy experience of the burgesses of Yarmouth to again receive the Prince of Orange before he embarked for the Netherlands to accept the unanimous call of his countrymen once more to rule over them.

In 1807, Louis XVIII., under the title of Count de Lille, landed at Yarmouth from the Swedish frigate *Freja*,

in Admiral Billy Douglas's barge. Men from the *Majestic* rowed the boat, and the Count, grateful for the attention shown him, left a purse of fifteen guineas for them to drink his health. When the officer announced the present to the men, not one of them would touch it, but they immediately held council and drew up a letter, which they transmitted to Admiral Russell, expressing their sentiments on the occasion. The following is a literal copy of this singular relic of naval literature:—

"Majestic

"6th day of November 1807.

"Please your Honor,

"We holded a talk about that there fifteen pounds that was sent us—and hope no offence your Honor. We dont like to take it because as how we know fast enuff that it was the true King of France that went with your Honor in the boat; and that he and our own noble King (God bless them both and give everyone his right) is good friends now; and, besides that, your honor gived an order, long ago, not to take any money from nobody,—and we never did take none; and Mr. Le Neve that steered your honour and that there King, says he wont have no hand in it, and so does Andrew Young, the proper Coxen; and we hoped no offence: so we all, one and all, begs not to take it, so no more at present, from your Honours dutiful servants."

Then follow the signatures.

No sketch of Yarmouth, however slight, would be complete without some mention of its world-famed herring fishery, the staple industry and source of income to the inhabitants. For nearly one thousand years Yarmouth has been famous as the centre of the herring fishery, and Speed, writing in 1611, says:—

"There is yearly in September in Yarmouth the worthiest herring fishery in Europe, which draweth great concourse of people which maketh the Town much the richer all the year following, but very unsavoury for the time. The inhabitants are so courteous as they have a long time held a custom to feast all persons of worth repairing thither, wherefore concerning the herrings there taken from the first of September until the last of November, which swarming in sculls about the shores, they are there garbaged, salted, hanged and dried, and by infinite numbers transported into the Levant and Mediterranean seas, where they be very good chaffer and right welcome Merchandises."

Palmer, writing in the middle of the last century, says,

"that from a national point of view, the importance of the herring fishery at Yarmouth may be estimated by the fact that its produce is equal to one-fifth of the entire return of the herring fishery throughout the United Kingdom."

The fish merchants of Yarmouth were considerable losers by the dissolution of the monasteries, which had always been their very good customers. After the Reformation, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, it was specially enjoined that flesh should be abstained from on Fridays and Saturdays, as well as on certain days called "fish days," for the good of the seafaring men and encouragement of the fisheries; yet the observance of these fell gradually into disuse, with consequent diminution of the herring trade. Two petitions were presented by the town to Parliament for a better observance of "fish days," or, as the second petition in 1664 runs, "To have Lent for the time to come strictly kept and observed."

There was an old custom, still observed, for the priest to give a blessing to the fishing yearly, and at the present time the nets are brought to the parish church to be blessed on the Sunday before the commencement of the fishing season. The famous Free Fair was held at Yarmouth at the time of the extraordinary influx of those persons engaged in the fishing, who came not only from other parts of England, but also from the Continent. Some semblance of this continued until the close of the eighteenth century, when it was still the custom for the Dutch fishing fleet to arrive a few days before the 21st September—the Sunday previous, in consequence, being called Dutch Sunday. A fair was held and booths erected along the quay, to which the country people round, from as far as Norwich, flocked to see the show. During the last few years, in consequence of an improvement in the method of pickling the herrings, the export trade has greatly increased. Acres of the South Denes adjacent to

the Fish Wharf have been leased at ground rents most profitable to the Corporation; large buildings have been erected thereon, not only by merchants in the town, but by those coming from distant places. Large public companies have opened up businesses there, the old small fishing-boats have given place to steam drifters, and at times there is not sufficient room for the moorage of the boats, although they occupy all the river, except a small passage down the centre, from the haven's mouth to the bridge. The South Denes are entirely given up to the trade during the season; the wharf is thronged with men discharging the fish, selling and buying them; the plots adjacent are crowded with hundreds of Scotch and local fish-girls preparing the herrings. The whole presents a scene which could not have been anticipated a few years since, and is probably without a parallel in the kingdom. So that to-day the staple trade of Yarmouth is as brisk as it was a thousand years ago, when it was necessary for the Barons of the Five Ports to send bailiffs to govern the great concourse of fishermen who resorted thither during the profitable times, then as now, from Michaelmas to Martinmas.

GLIMPSES OF THE HISTORY OF THETFORD

By W. G. Clarke

FOR a thousand years at least the history of Thetford centred in the fords of the rivers Little Ouse and Thet. In the dim dawning of civilisation the district was inhabited by palæolithic man, followed after countless ages by Iberians in a neolithic stage of culture, then by Kelts, firstly the Goidels, some of whose weapons were stone, but who brought a knowledge of bronze, and secondly the Brythons, who had the advantage of using iron. When these fords first became one of the chief routes into Norfolk we have no means of knowing; but it is probable that it was either in the neolithic age or the bronze age, for thither came the Icknield Way, which connected East Anglia with the South of England, following the chalk ridges from Dorchester. At Royston it crossed the Ermine Street, and thence proceeded to Newmarket, then through the Kennet at Kentford, the Lark at Lackford, and on to Thetford. Where it was crossed by the road between Barnham and Elveden the spot was known as "Marman's Grave," and here a suicide was probably interred. From this point to "Chunk Harvey's Grave" at Thetford the Way is now disused. In ancient documents this part of its course is referred to as Lackford Way, Salter's Way, and Old London Way, for until the end of the seventeenth century it appears to have been the main road from Thetford to the Metropolis, that by

Elveden and Barton Mills not taking the pre-eminent position until after 1695. The Icknield Way came into Thetford south-east of the cemetery, and passed between the gasworks and the town to a spot known as "Chunk Harvey's Grave," where it formerly crossed the road to Euston. Here, at the four crossways, "Chunk Harvey," who is said to have been a notorious buccaneer, was buried. By a sharp turn the road then crossed the Little Ouse and the Thet, passed through the Castle Hill earthworks, and onward by way of Castle Lane and Green Lane to Kilverstone, whence it is difficult to trace its further course. Its antiquity as a boundary is shown by the fact that as it approaches the Little Ouse it divides the Hundreds of Lackford and Blackbourn in Suffolk; between Ouse and Thet—a distance of about 100 yards—it crosses a tongue of the Hundred of Guiltcross, and as it leaves the Thet, divides the Hundreds of Grimshoe and Shropham. Adjoining the mile of its course in Thetford were a barrow, two British settlements—one near the gasworks and the other by Melford bridge—the ducking-stool, market cross, shire hall, and gibbet, and eight of the town's mediæval churches. Undoubtedly prehistoric, the Icknield Way was used by the Romans, became one of the Quatuor Chimini, and for over a thousand years was one of the chief roads into East Anglia, being for centuries used by pilgrims from the south-west, by long trains of pack-horses, and later by drovers, who thus avoided the payment of toll on the turnpikes. Somewhere on Brettenham Heath it crossed Peddar's Way, another important local road, probably prehistoric, but utilised by the Romans. Hereabouts, in January, 1907, was found the skeleton of a Roman soldier with spear, helmet, and remains of sword and shield.

The district in the vicinity of Thetford, through which the Icknield Way ran, appears always to have been open country. It was described by Sir Henry Spelman in the seventeenth century as "champion," abounding with

"corne, sheepe and conies," was later known as "the holey land" (from the numerous rabbit burrows), "the rabbit and rye country," and more recently as "Breckland," from the far-spreading "brecks" or portions of once cultivated heathland, which now lie fallow, but were said by Thomas Martin, in the eighteenth century, to produce good corn crops. Over much of this land common rights existed until the Enclosure Acts of a century ago. At Thetford the area allotted in 1806 was 5,491 acres, only 1,485 less than the total acreage of the borough (including roads), for it then chiefly consisted of "common fields, half-year or shack lands, Lammas meadows, and waste grounds." At the present day many of the tawny heaths look as though immutability had been their lot since neolithic hunters roamed the sandy trackways, threw up earthen banks which puzzle the antiquary, or raised grave-mounds over the bodies of departed chieftains. In the midst of this treeless waste a settlement was formed on the comparatively low-lying ground near the fords. That it was an important village of the Britons appears probable from the fact that excavations in almost any part of the borough reveal quantities of pottery, horn-cores of the long-faced ox, and occasional wild boars' tusks and bone weapons.

The exact connection of the Romans with Thetford is somewhat doubtful. At such an important point on the Icknield Way, it is most probable that they would have a camp, and many there are who maintain that this was the site of Sitomagus, thirty-one miles from Venta Icenorum (Caistor, near Norwich), and twenty-two from Combretonium (Brettenham, Suffolk), on the way to London. This would give a westerly course through Suffolk, and others argue for a more easterly route, with Dunwich as Sitomagus. Relics of the Roman occupation of Thetford are few and unimportant. What were probably the remains of a villa were found in St. Nicholas Street, and coins, fibulæ, and cinerary urns have also been

disinterred. But whatever its name before the arrival of the Angles, in consideration of its position on one of the main roads into Norfolk they gave it the distinctive cognomen of "Thætford," which is simply "*The* Ford," indicating its local pre-eminence. Privileged to be the seat of government in East Anglia, and also of a mint, the town prospered amazingly, despite the unwelcome visits of the Danes. Several terrible battles were fought in the vicinity, notably in 838, 866, and 870 A.D. Time after time the town was burnt by these marauders, and so many of them ultimately settled here that this was one of the few places in England exempt from the payment of Danegeld. The last of the great local battles between Dane and Saxon was fought near Ringmere, a round pool on the heathland four miles north of Thetford, in the May of 1010, when the Danes, who had marched from Ipswich, met and defeated with terrible slaughter the massed Saxon forces of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. This was the "Hringmar field" of which the northern skalds sung in their sagas. Two miles to the westward a fourth century Teutonic bronze mount—of which only four other English-found specimens are known—was picked up in 1904. In Thetford itself an interesting reminder of the pirate-Danes was, until a few years ago, furnished by Guildhall Street, which was commonly known as "Heathenman Street," apparently a reference, after a thousand years, to the "heathen men" (Danes) of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Despite all drawbacks, however, the town made progress, and in the reign of Edward the Confessor had 947 burgesses, thirteen parish churches, and formed a Hundred.

Closely associated with the ford and the Icknield Way is the Castle Hill and its surrounding earthworks, which are still somewhat of a mystery. At the present day they are the largest earthworks in East Anglia, and there appears to be no other quite like them in England. The most imposing feature is the conical hill, with a vertical

THE "NUNS' BRIDGES" AT THE OLD FORDS, THETFORD.

THE CASTLE MOUND, THETFORD.

height of 81 feet (100 feet measured up the slope), and a circumference of nearly 1,000 feet at the base. With the exception of the huge mound at Castle Rising, which is 43 feet in height, no other earthwork in Norfolk is half as high. On its summit, from which an extensive and diversified view may be obtained, there is a depression from eight to ten feet below the surrounding bank, and in this five elms, planted in 1823, still flourish. The surrounding ditches and ramparts are almost of equal interest. On the north there is a double line of ramparts, and the evidence of ancient plans and documents seems to indicate that these were continued—though not unbrokenly—so as to form a horseshoe-shaped base-court, somewhat similar in form to many others in various parts of the country. A height of 30 feet is attained by the inner rampart on the north of the mound, while the outer is 35 feet above the level of the inner ditch. The "Wooded Hill" is 35 feet above the adjoining ditch, and the outer rampart 19 feet above. About 840 feet is the total length of the existing ramparts from east to west.

Various authors have assigned these earthworks to the Kelts, Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, Oliver Cromwell, and the devil, and although we can safely say that certain of these had nothing to do with their construction, the fact that a similar form appears to have been utilised during a long period of time renders most difficult the allocation of these mounds to a definite era. History helps us but little in the matter. The earliest reference to them seems to be soon after the Norman Conquest, when William de Warrenne is referred to as "lord of the town and castle of Thetford." In the seventeenth century the Hon. Roger North in his *Autobiography* referred to the "Saxon Castle Hill and three great ramparts round it, built, as I suppose, to defend the pass against the Mercian inroads"; while Evelyn, in 1677, mentioned the "round mountaine artificially raised,

either for some castle or monument, which makes a pretty landscape." The Rev. Francis Blomefield, in the *Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (1739), said that the entrenchments when complete contained about 24 acres, and that there were three ramparts with large ditches between surrounding the hill. Barricades of wood were probably the only defences ever erected on the earthworks, as no traces of stonework have been found. While in many parts of England there is evidence to prove that similar mounds with base-courts were thrown up by the Normans, and castles for the subjugation of the Saxons subsequently erected, few, if any, are of such great extent as that at Thetford. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the extent and form of the earthworks as they at present exist are owing to the Normans, possibly to Earl Warrenne, between 1080 and 1090; but the numerous earthworks along the Icknield Way, and the fact that nearly every ford was so protected, leads to the conclusion that even in prehistoric times there was something of the kind at this spot, perhaps utilised by succeeding races, and completed by the Normans. Until 1869 the castle meadow and earthworks went with the lordship of the manor, but they are now the property of Lord Amherst of Hackney, though the public have the right of entry.

From the time when there began to be a community near the ford, it is probable that there was some edifice for religious worship, but of this we have no certain knowledge. Under the Saxons numerous churches were erected, but the period of Thetford's greatest ecclesiastical importance was between the Conquest and the Dissolution of monasteries, when it was a noted centre of the religious. There were a magnificent Cluniac priory, with a church two-thirds the size of Norwich Cathedral, the nunnery of SS. George and Gregory, the monastery for canons of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, a monastery of Black Friars, a convent of Austin Friars, and five hospitals.

Before the "Great Pillage," as Dr. Jessopp calls it, there was thus no excuse for a resident of Thetford not attending church because of the distance of the building from his home. There were at least nineteen parish churches, in addition to five attached to the religious houses. Yet in 1577 the mayor and constable were fined for not warning the inhabitants of the penalties incurred by them in not going to church, and four years later a person was imprisoned for so offending. Of the parochial churches there are fragmentary portions of St. Giles', near the junction of St. Giles' Lane and King Street; walls of St. Mary the Great, at the rear of the Boys' Grammar School, and an arch of Holy Trinity Church inside it; and the cellar of a dwelling-house in the Market Place was formerly the groyned crypt of the church of St. Lawrence, and dates from the early thirteenth century.

Three parish churches remain. St. Cuthbert's is the only ancient church in Norfolk so dedicated. Here, in 1582, Gregory Smythe, William Droute, John Sterne, and others, who had been convicted of "playing at skaits on Christmas Day," were ordered to kneel down before the whole congregation and pray God to forgive them. There is a fairly good oak screen, and the old pulpit is an interesting piece of work. St. Mary's—formerly the Less, to distinguish it from the one-time cathedral, St. Mary's the Great—is the oldest and largest church in the town; it has a Norman north door, and the plain massive Norman font not improbably belonged to the original church on this site. In February, 1567, Sir Richard Fulmerston, the founder of the Grammar School, was here interred, his will directing that the funeral should be "without pomp or vain-glory," saving that he would have a convenient monument of stone erected over him and his wife. Most of the ancient glories of St. Peter's have departed. The tower was rebuilt and the church restored about 1790, when new stained glass was put in the windows of the

nave, bearing the arms of William Robert Mingay, Birch of Wretham, Sir Robert Buxton of Shadwell Court, Lord Petre, and Sir William Altham. On the buttresses of the south side of the nave are emblems of the Trinity, the Passion, St. Mary the Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Katherine.

Thetford's geographical position, and the importance which it had attained as a commercial and ecclesiastical centre, caused it to be chosen as one of the towns at which assizes were held, and it is probable that for nearly 600 years the Lent Assizes for the county of Norfolk were here conducted, before the middle of the sixteenth century in the old shirehouse, of which even the exact site is now unknown, and after that in the Guildhall. In 1451 the assizes were referred to in the "Paston Letters," and subsequently there were many records of terrible crimes and no less terrible punishments. Of the latter, one of the most terrible took place in 1608. The Rector of Rockland, with the connivance of his wife, was murdered by his curate, and after the trial at Thetford, the wife was burned to death—probably in the Old Market Place on the Icknield Way—and the curate was hanged near by. The eighteenth century records of hangings, gibbetings, transportations, public and private whippings, the pillory, and brandings, form a shocking tale of barbarity. From 1731 to 1832 the number of prisoners tried at the Lent Assizes at Thetford was 2,417, and the number capitally convicted 610, of whom only 19 were sentenced for murder. Many criminals were hanged in the town, the last occasion being April, 1824, when three men were executed for sheep stealing. Numerous attempts were made by the inhabitants of Norwich to secure the assizes for that city, and after 200 years' agitation they were successful, and the last assize was held at Thetford in 1832, notwithstanding the efforts of the townspeople to retain this highly-valued privilege.

It is uncertain when the town first sent representatives

to Parliament, but the earliest record appears to be 1529, when there were two members. By the charter of 1573 permission was given for two burgesses to be sent to Parliament, "provided they were discreet and honest men" and were elected "at the expense of the borough." Until 1685 the rights of election were vested in the inhabitants generally, but were then given exclusively to the corporation, who numbered thirty-one. They retained it until 1832, and two members were sent under the enlarged franchise until 1867, when one was lost by the "Representation of the People Act," and the other the year following by a motion disfranchising boroughs with a population under 5,000. At the end of the seventeenth century several elections were disputed owing to the illegal surrender of the charter of incorporation. Sir Joseph Williamson and James Sloan were elected in 1698, but Edward Soan, the unsuccessful candidate, alleged that the mayor procured the return of Sloan by unlawful practices. Parliament declared the election void because Sloan had "treated the corporation," and upon Sloan being again returned, declared him incapable of sitting. That Dean Prideaux had but a poor opinion of the corporation is shown by a letter written in 1708, in which he said that at Thetford—

"all is sould. Ye election there is among the magistracy, and 50 guineas for a vote is their price. One Mr. Baylis, a stranger, was their last chapman, to whom they have sould themselfes much dearer, for it hath cost him 3000*l* to get a return from thence next Parliament, and that is but a litigious one, for Sr John Wodehouse will be a petitioner against him."

The petition was presented, but no decision arrived at. Fighting this double-barrelled constituency of thirty-one voters was an expensive business. Sir Robert Buxton's half-share of cockades in 1790 cost him £40 3s., and a moiety of a dinner £91 4s., in addition to the usual outgoings. At the election of 1806 a dinner and ball given by two of the candidates cost £338 13s. 5d.

Until the borough was disfranchised, election days were one long carouse, lawlessness was rampant, and disgraceful scenes so common as to excite no comment.

Adjoining St. Peter's churchyard, and fronted by a fine copper beech and other trees, is the King's House, even now the most interesting specimen of domestic architecture in the town, but at one time a building of many gables, with fine chimney-stacks and beautiful oriel windows. At Thetford was situated the palace of some of the East Anglian kings, and after the Norman Conquest the town continued to find favour with royalty, and Edwards I., II. and III., and Richard II. and his Queen, were not infrequent visitors. Henry VII. was there in 1497, and the entry in the Privy Purse expenses shows that his "offering on Saturday and Sunday, 6th August," was 13s. 4d. Contrary to popular belief, Queen Elizabeth was only once in the town, and this was in August, 1578, on her return from Norwich, when she was the guest of Sir Edward Clere at the Place Farm (Nunnery), there held a Privy Council, and was presented by the corporation with a silver cup containing £6 7s. 6d. The most frequent royal visitor was, however, James I., who delighted to leave cares behind and stay here for the hunting, hawking, and shooting. Writing from Thetford on March 3rd, 1604, the Earl of Worcester said the King was very ill with a cold, which he attributed to long-continued sharpness of the air. The Earl added: "He lykethe exceeding well of the contrey and ys resolved for certayn to stay these five dayes in this town." A correspondent of the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote in the same year: "The King is at Thetford, and soe farre in love with the pleasures of the place as he meanes to have a house there." Instructions were sent in 1607 for the preservation of the King's game within a twelve mile radius of Thetford, and the year following His Majesty is said to have been welcomed to the town by three cormorants on the church steeple. On July 8th,

1609, Sir William Barwick received a warrant of £1,000 for the King's recreation, undoubtedly the purchase money of the King's house at Thetford; and on the 24th of the same month Lady Barwick and her son were appointed life custodians of the house and garden, for which they received 2s. per day. In 1610 the Duke of Wurtemburg-Mumpelgard joined the King here, and the diary of one of his suite records that they attended church in celebration of the King's delivery from assassination by Count Gaury, subsequently going hare hunting. In the next reign the King's House passed from the possession of royalty, for in 1628 it was given by King Charles I. to Andrew Pitcarne, who appears almost immediately to have sold it to Sir Thomas Wodehouse, whose arms are still on a carved stone in the conservatory. Portions of the present building were probably added by James I., for there is a Jacobean mantel-piece with beautifully carved figures, and carved beams and panelled walls.

It was in the reign of James I. that the scheme for the establishment of a Free School was first put on a secure basis. There is said to have been a school here in Saxon times, and about 1100 Bishop Herbert de Losinga mentioned having restored to—

"Bundus, the Dean, his schools at Thetford, as he ever conducted them well and honestly; and I enjoin that there be no other schools established there save his, or those which he has promised to establish."

No further mention is made of a school until the fourteenth century, when from various collations it appears that this was an educational centre, and so remained until the end of the fifteenth century, after which nothing is known for nearly two hundred years. Then Sir Richard Fulmerston, by his will, dated 1566, left lands on which a "free grammar school" was to be erected, and bequeathed property for four sermons to be preached each year in St. Mary's Church, to build a dwelling-house for a schoolmaster and usher, and alms-houses for four poor people—two men and two women.

The school apparently was erected in 1576 on a corner of the Black Friars' Yard, with a chamber for the schoolmaster and none for the usher or preacher. In 1610, largely through the influence of Lord Chief Justice Coke, a new act was passed "for the school and other good uses in Thetford." By this the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty were appointed trustees, and the payments under the scheme were to be made at the "Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and the Birth of our Lord God." After 1612 the school was divided into two departments, one being in charge of an usher, whose duty it was to instruct the sons of freemen of the borough in the elements of an ordinary English education; the other conducted by the master, who taught Latin grammar to such sons of freemen as manifested ability sufficient to warrant their being instructed in this higher branch of learning. Of recent years the Boys' Grammar School has increasingly prospered, and a most successful Girls' Grammar School has also been erected. The site of the former is of unusual interest. Here a society of religious existed as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor, if not before; long previous to the Conquest it was the site of the fine parish church of St. Mary the Great, which in 1071 became the cathedral of Bishop Herfast, who built the church of the Holy Trinity close by. The See was removed to Norwich in 1094, and St. Mary's was closed for ten years. Then Roger Bigod obtained it, and built a small priory for Cluniac monks; but this was soon moved to the northern bank of the Little Ouse. From 1114 to 1340 the site was apparently not utilised, but in the latter year Henry Earl of Lancaster installed some members of the Dominican order of Black Friars, by whom it was held until the Dissolution. The remains of ancient buildings on this site consist chiefly of a fine archway in the Boys' Grammar School, and walls and portions of windows

behind the gymnasium and laboratory. From its massive masonry it is probable that the arch was one of those which formed the base of the central tower of the church—perhaps as built or repaired by the Black Friars about 1340. Among the most famous scholars of the Boys' School are Sir Robert Wright, who became Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and presided at the trial of the Seven Bishops in 1688; the Hon. Roger North, lawyer and historian, who described Thetford as having "a most excellent air for health"; Thomas Martin, F.S.A., the historian of Thetford; the Rev. Francis Blomefield, F.S.A., the topographer of Norfolk; Thomas Paine, politician, pamphleteer, and "higher critic"; and James Mingay, a noted King's Counsellor, referred to in the *Essays of Elia* as "Mingay of the Iron Hand."

In addition to the many men of note somewhat casually connected with Thetford, either as Members of Parliament for the borough or as scholars at the Grammar School, several were born here or resided within the town for an appreciable length of time. Among these is Edmund Henry Barker (1788-1839), who came to reside at the Manor House about 1815. He edited a number of works of Greek and Latin authors, and Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*, wrote *Parriana, or Notices of the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL.D.*, and *Literary Anecdotes and Contemporary Reminiscences of Professor Porson*, and died in a common lodging-house near Covent Garden. Sir Henry Collet, K.C.B. (1836-1901), was born at Thetford, where his father was rector of St. Mary's. He entered the Bengal Army in 1855, fought in the Abyssinian, Afghan, and Burmese wars, and the Chin-Lushai expedition, and commanded the Manipur Field Force in 1891. Roger Long (1680-1770), divine and astronomer, was born at Croxton Park, and became lecturer on astronomy at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of which he was elected master in 1733. The same year he was appointed vice-chancellor of the University. In 1729 he was elected an F.R.S., chosen

first occupant of the Lowndean chair of astronomy and geometry in 1750, and wrote and edited several works. John Drew Salmon, F.L.S. (1802?-1859), botanist and ornithologist, lived at Thetford from December, 1833, to November, 1837, and his diaries relating thereto are preserved at the Norwich Castle Museum. Undoubtedly the most noted native of Thetford, and the one whose influence has been most widely felt, is Thomas Paine (1737-1809). He was born on January 29th, 1737, in a house on the west side of White Hart Street, where there is now a garden with wall and iron palisading. Early influences helped largely to mould Paine's opinions. Especially was this the case with the religious beliefs of his father and mother, the atmosphere of the Friends' Meeting House in Cage Lane, the "false heroism" of his master at the Grammar School, and the corrupt political life of the pocket borough in which he spent his youth. Of the modest chapel, Dr. M. D. Conway, his biographer, says: "This was his more important birthplace." After various occupations in England Paine set sail for America in 1774, became a journalist, and in 1776 issued a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," declaring for independence and a republican government. Returning to England in 1787, he visited his mother at Thetford, and again came to the town when she was buried in 1790. Then came the French Revolution, Edmund Burke's *Reflections*, and Paine's powerful reply, *The Rights of Man*. He fled to France, was elected a member of the National Convention, and subsequently imprisoned ten months in the Luxembourg, where he wrote the *Age of Reason*. In 1802 he returned to America, and there died on June 8th, 1809. William Cobbett, first his antagonist, then his disciple, brought his bones to England in 1819; to-day only two or three persons know where they rest.

THE NORMAN DOORWAYS IN NORFOLK

By Charles E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A.

THE county of Norfolk is justly renowned for the number and excellence of its churches. It may be true that the finest of these were erected during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but a considerable number of earlier edifices have been preserved to our day, and the work of the Norman period is well represented in all parts of the county. As elsewhere, so here, the builders of the twelfth century seem to have concentrated their efforts on the embellishment of the doorways, and we find in even small and out-of-the-way churches a wonderful richness and variety in the ornamental details, and remarkable ingenuity in the handling of the various designs. As will be pointed out, there is a distinctive character about many of these doorways which is no doubt due to the special local influences responsible for their construction. Some of the mouldings are rarely found out of Norfolk, and there is a bold and massive, and specially English, character about many of the examples, which entitles them to compare favourably with those of other parts of England.

Very many of the finest have been figured by Cotman in his *Architectural Etchings of Norfolk*, a very fine work published in 1838; and the late Mr. Dawson Turner made a wonderful collection of coloured sketches of details, etc., from the several churches, which include many illustrations of the Norman doorways. They are now preserved at

the British Museum, and are catalogued as "Dawson Turner; drawings, engravings, etc., illustrating Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*. Add. MSS. 23024-23062."

In the *Norfolk Archæologia* these doorways are almost entirely ignored. Very brief mention is made of the examples at Kenninghall, St. Etheldred's, Norwich, and one of those at the west end of Norwich Cathedral. A woodcut is given in the fifth volume of the south entrance to Hellington Church, and a small photograph of that on the north side of South Lopham Church in the fourteenth volume. No doubt a Norman doorway is a familiar object to every archæologist, but none the less is it advisable that in view of the mischief which has been, and still is being, done by injudicious restoration, a complete record of these relics of the care and skill of the early masons should be noted and duly recorded. It is a pity that Norfolk was not included as well as Suffolk in the counties covered by the *Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England* published by the late Mr. J. H. Parker between fifty and sixty years ago; indeed, there ought to have been a survey of this kind for every county long ago, so that the student of church architecture generally, or any special period of it, might have a chance of obtaining information as to the best examples to visit in the various counties of England.

Throughout Norfolk generally good specimens of twelfth century architecture are to be found, but perhaps the south-east part of the county, between Norwich and Beccles, retains the best Norman work, and, as is shown in a paper entitled "A Day's Excursion among the Churches of south-east Norfolk," and published in vol. lxiv. (xiv. new series) of the *Archæological Journal*, an energetic explorer starting from Beccles may easily see fourteen or fifteen fine Norman doorways in one day. Illustrations of several of these are given there, and some of them are reproduced in the present article. As is there stated, the fact of so many of these early churches being preserved to our

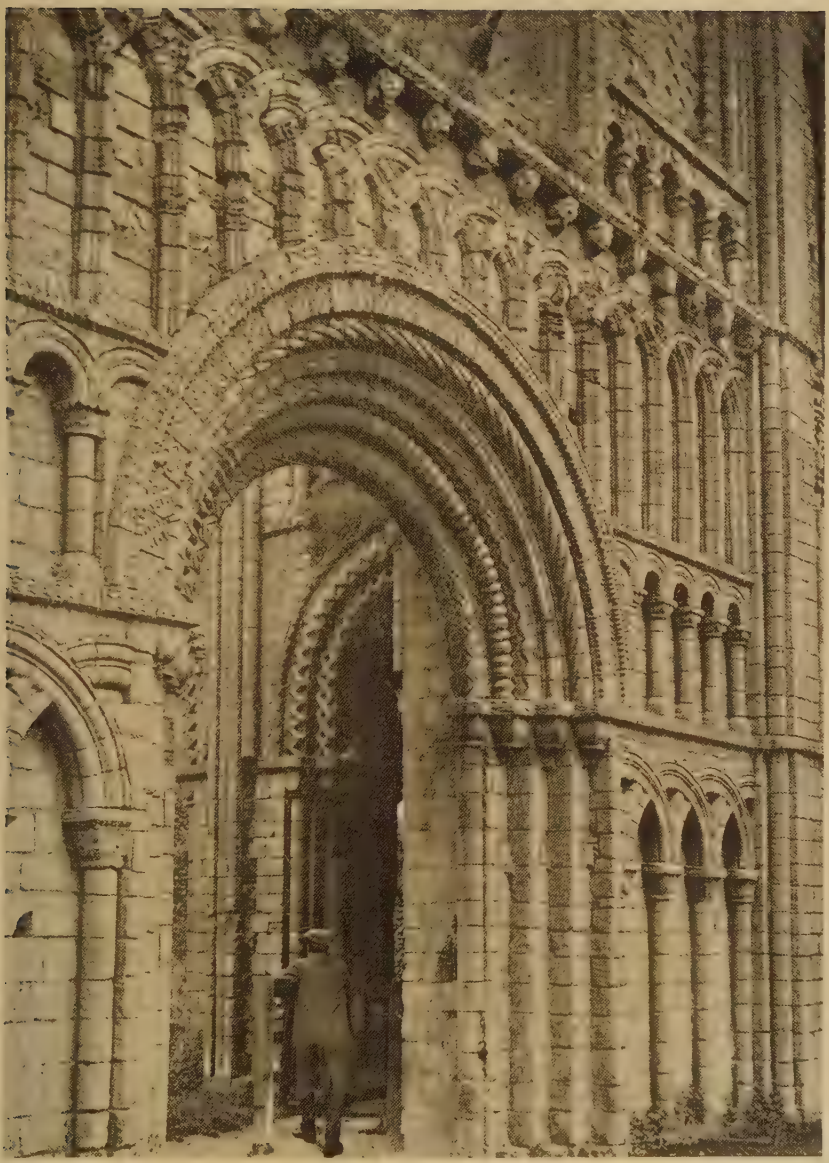


Fig. 1.—Castleacre Priory : West Doorway.

FIG. 2.—HADDISCOE: SOUTH DOORWAY.

time is a proof that in this district there was no great accession of wealth in later times, and therefore the excellent workmanship of the twelfth century builders was deemed adequate for the spiritual requirements of subsequent generations. It is wonderful to find that at a period when only the very few received the benefits of education, such care and skill could be bestowed on the architectural details by comparatively ignorant and unlearned men. Their work remains, but the records as to how and by whom they were instructed have almost entirely been lost.

And now let us go straight to our special subject. The county of Norfolk is not very rich in remains of Saxon or pre-Norman work. At Wramplingham, the north doorway is of very rude and early character, while at Great Dunham the west doorway is triangular headed, with a double row of billet on the head, and carried down the jambs. This is broken by a rude abacus or capital of early type. This doorway corresponds with the windows in the upper stage of the round towers at Haddiscoe, and Herringfleet on the Suffolk side of the river Waveney, which may be of pre-Norman date. The south doorway of Thorpe-by-Haddiscoe, with half-round on the hood-mould and roll on angle of arch, may also be very early.

It is singular that we find very few Norman doorways in Norfolk with a tympanum filling up the head of the arch, so common and so highly ornamented a feature in some of our counties. In the work on the sculptured Norman tympana and lintels,[1] only two examples have been cited from Norfolk, viz., the south doorway at Tottenhill, where on the tympanum is a cross *patée* within an incomplete circle formed by a cable band, which is interlaced at the base of the cross, and carried along the lower part of the tympanum to its extremities on either

[1] *A list of Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture still or till recently existing in the Churches of Great Britain*, by Charles E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A.

side. At Mintlyn, in the same district, on the tympanum formerly over the south doorway, but now lying broken and neglected within the ruined church, is a cable band arranged exactly as at Tottenhill, but there is no cross now remaining within it. At Crimplesham, the north and south doorways, which are of early date, both have plain tympana, and at Wimbotsham, over the south doorway, is a plain tympanum supported on a wooden lintel. It is doubtful if this is original. The lintel remains over the north doorway of Tottenhill Church. In the east interior wall of the north transept of Norwich Cathedral is a small doorway, with a chequered pattern of overlapping labels on the tympanum. Over the south doorway of East Dereham Church is a tympanum cut out into a trefoil form, as in the case of the monks' doorway at Ely Cathedral and elsewhere, with bold cusps, and resting on projecting head brackets. This is but a meagre list, and it is possible there may have been many more, which in later restorations have been cut away.

There are two doorways with figures within niches above them. One is the very interesting example at Haddiscoe, which will shortly be fully described; the other is over the north transept doorway of Norwich Cathedral. Here is a bishop holding a pastoral staff and giving the Benediction. He is standing under an arch supported by two shafts with zigzag moulding. In Murray's *Handbook to the Eastern Cathedrals* it is stated that this is "said to represent the founder, Bishop Herbert." This conjecture is most improbable, and no doubt some early saint is intended to be here portrayed.

Most of the ornamental mouldings found elsewhere in England occur on the Norfolk doorways, and there are some which are especially characteristic of the Eastern Counties. For instance, that denominated the "Double Cone" is rarely found except in this district, but in Norfolk excellent examples remain at Castleacre, Ashby, Hales, Heckingham, Hellington, and Langford. Another

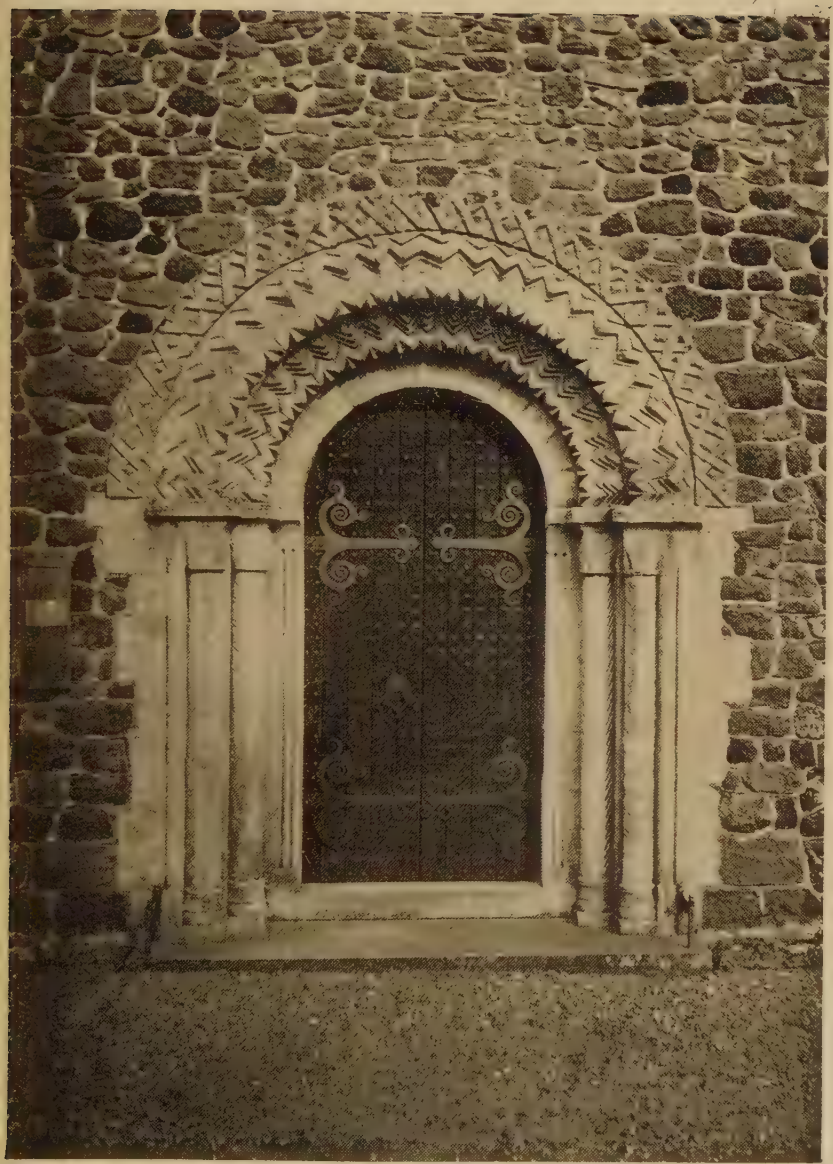


FIG. 3.—SHOULDHAM THORPE : WEST DOORWAY.

FIG. 4.—TOTTENHILL : SOUTH DOORWAY.

moulding occurring at Peterborough Cathedral, but not farther west, is a double row of out-turned scallops or semi-circles, called the cheese moulding. This is usually to be found on the hood-mould or dripstone, and is comparatively common in Norfolk, where examples may be seen at Chedgrave, Heckingham, Hellington, South Lopham, Mundham, Roydon, Thurlton, Thurston, and Thwayt. Another somewhat uncommon feature, viz., a series of roses, wheels, etc., studded on the hood-mould, is to be found in this county at Easton, Framingham Earl, Hales, Heckingham, Kirby Cane, and Marlingford.

The beakhead ornament, so common in some parts of England, does not seem to have been popular in the eastern counties, and the only example on a Norfolk doorway is at Barton Bendish St. Mary's Church.

The embattled or frette ornament, one of the boldest of the Norman mouldings, only appears, and then of an uncommon type, at Larling. On the other hand, we find every form of the zigzag or chevron, and the billet, cable, star, lozenge, and saw-tooth mouldings are of common occurrence.

There is one feature in some of the doorways which seems to be very unusual, except in the churches in the south of Norfolk and north of Suffolk. In several of these—for instance, at Hales, Heckingham, and Kirby Cane in Norfolk, and Mettingham and Wissett in Suffolk —the bases of the jamb shafts rest on blocks of masonry, or plinths, at from a foot to six inches above the ground level, and small engaged shafts are carved on the angles of these blocks, and zigzag, star, and other ornaments are introduced. There does not appear to be any practical utility in this arrangement, and no doubt the ingenuity of the early masons was thus exercised to produce work which would be characteristic of this particular district.

Two of the finest specimens of the Norman architecture of the county are the main entrances of the castles at Norwich and Castle Rising. The former has a containing

arch ornamented with roses and stars, enclosing the main and a side doorway. The former has four reveals or recessed orders, with somewhat unusual mouldings. On the outer is a kind of ornamented pellet and a bold roll, then a series of oval medallions or leaves, the ornamented pellets, and another roll, and then of labels set on a third roll moulding. On the upper portion of the labels are carved stars, quatrefoils, and other ornaments—an eagle, man with sword, winged horse, etc. The inner order and jambs are plain. The abacus is chamfered with, on upper part on left, a wavy line with leaf alternately on either side, and the trellis or net-work pattern; on the right, varied leaves, etc. Most of the shafts have been destroyed, but to the inner but one order the label pattern in the arch is continued to the ground, the labels being attached to the shafts, and some flat scalloping on the jambs. Some of the capitals also remain, with some rich carving; on one, a hunter blowing a horn and hound pulling down an animal; on another, a man attacked by a wild boar; on two others, various animals fighting. The smaller side arch has the ornamented pellets and roll on the angle. The shafts are gone. An account of this doorway is to be found in the *British Archæological Association Journal*, vol. xiv., p. 67, and an illustration in the Dawson Turner Collection, vol. xv.

The main entrance to the banqueting-hall at Castle Rising Castle is of somewhat similar design, though less ornate in its details. The arch is recessed in four orders, with, on the outer, sunk and raised zigzag and a bold roll moulding; on the next, a rich lozenge pattern and roll; on the next, zigzag and roll; the inner order is plain. There are three shafts on each side to the outer orders, with plain cushion capitals.

The west front of Castleacre Priory, founded by the great family of De Warenne, and for two centuries dependent on the important Priory of Lewes, the principal of the Clugniac monasteries in England, furnishes us with

FIG. 5.—ALDEBY : WEST DOORWAY.

FIG. 6.—WIMBOTSHAM: SOUTH DOORWAY.

a grand example of Norman architecture not very early in the style. The great west window is of fifteenth century date, but the whole of the rest of the exterior wall is enriched with arcading, and a noble central portal, two smaller and elegant doorways opening to the aisles. The central arch (fig. 1) has a hood-mould and four reveals divided into six moulded recessed orders. On the hood-mould, which is not chamfered, is an outer course of semi-circles, and then two rows of the double cone of a somewhat unusual type. On the outer order is a kind of beaded diaper or trellis, on the next a beautifully carved cable, then a small roll on the angle, then two or three courses of zigzag, then a broad double cone similar to that on the hood-mould; and then, on the inner order, several rows of zigzag on the face, and lozenges, enclosing roses, on the soffit. On the abacus is a small zigzag or lozenge pattern, continued north and south as a string course along the wall. Four cushion capitals remain on each side, but only the inner shafts, which are engaged. On the interior side is a hood-mould, with beaded zigzag ornament, and the scallop over the head of an inner arch. The north-west doorway has a band of raised zigzag on the hood-mould, then a double roll, then a series of lozenges enclosing beads, then zigzag in arch and engaged roll on the soffit; plain abacus, two scalloped capitals on each side, but only the inner engaged shafts remain. In Cotman's illustration (series iii., plate xii.) there is a double row of beading on the abacus, and foliage on three of the capitals. The south-west doorway has the saw-tooth on the hood-mould, then beaded trellis, then double cone, and then zigzag on face, and lozenges containing roses on soffit of inner order, cable and bead on the abacus; two foliated capitals remain on each side, but only the inner engaged shafts. There is another doorway to the Prior's House, with zigzag roll and beaded zigzag in the arch. There have been two fine doorways

to the refectory, and no doubt others, which have been destroyed, as till comparatively recent times the place was allowed to be a quarry to supply the needs of the surrounding district. At Bromholm Priory, the north transept doorway remains, with plain arch and scalloped capitals; while at Binham Abbey two plain doorways remain in a turret at the west end of the south aisle. A very late Norman arch remains near the wishing-well at Walsingham Abbey, with the nailhead ornament on the hood-mould, and two orders, with the keel-shaped moulding, on the angle of the outer, and roll on that of the inner order. The west front of Norwich Cathedral has been much altered and renovated, but two of the doorways of the building erected by Herbert de Losinga still remain. These form the western entrances to the north and south aisles, and are plain, with recessed arches and two engaged shafts on each side, with cushion capitals. At the meeting of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society held in December, 1880, mention is made of a doorway being opened out at the west end, showing some of the original painting (*Norfolk Archæologia*, ix., 363). The north doorway of the north transept, now opening to the garden of the Bishop's Palace, is of the same date, with a groove on the hood-mould and double roll in arch, plain chamfered abacus, two shafts on each side, with plain cushion capitals on right and early foliage to those on left. Above, within a niche, is the figure of a bishop holding a pastoral staff and giving the Benediction. He is standing under an arch with zigzag mouldings, supported on two shafts. It is suggested in Murray's *Handbook of the English Cathedrals* that this may be intended for Bishop Herbert de Losinga, but this seems most improbable. On the interior east side of this north transept is another doorway, with the chevron ornament on the hood-mould, lozenge in arch, and a series of overlapping labels on the tympanum. This is figured in the

FIG. 7.—LARLING : SOUTH DOORWAY.

Fig. 8.—Holme by Runcton : South Doorway.

Glossary of Gothic Architecture, Appendix, plate 30. There is another doorway in the bishop's garden, now opening into the kitchen, with the zigzag in arch.

As has been previously stated, there are numerous fine doorways still remaining in the parish churches throughout the county, and it is difficult to decide which of them are most worthy of a detailed description, and how far one can point out, without being tedious, the salient features of the more remarkable examples.

One of the best known and most interesting, as well as puzzling as to its date, is the south doorway to Haddiscoe Church (fig. 2). It has a hood-mould and two recessed orders; the former is flat, with an outer course of the saw-tooth and an inner of the chevron ornament. On the outer order of the arch are a series of raised half-rounds or scallops, and an engaged roll at the angle; on the inner are three courses of incised zigzag: the abacus is grooved and chamfered. As a continuation to the hood-mould, a band of the ornamental star pattern is carried down the jambs to the ground. There is one shaft on each side with cushion capital, and a cable band below. Above the doorway is a large semi-circular-headed niche, with an outer flat course of the beaded star and other ornaments, continued with a series of roundels, divided by foliage, down the jambs. The arch has the roll moulding resting on banded shafts, two bands on each side ornamented with foliage, and with similar bands forming the capitals and bases. Within the niche is a figure seated on a throne and clad in rich ecclesiastical vestments, with both hands upraised and holding what appear to be short sceptres. The figure, which is about three feet high, probably is intended to represent our Lord seated in Majesty, as in similar instances. There is a portion of a sculpture above His head, much mutilated. It may have portrayed the "dextera Dei" coming from the cloud, or some other object symbolising the Divine presence. The carving,

especially of the zigzag ornament, is very shallow and somewhat rude, and suggests an early date, and it may be coeval with the triangular arches in the tower. On the other hand, the north aisle of the church is separated from the nave by two transitional Norman pointed arches, and a doorway in the north wall seems to be of the same date as that on the south. This north doorway, now somewhat mutilated, has a hood-mould and three recessed orders; the hood-mould has the alternate billet ornament, continued down the outer jambs to the ground, while on the outer order are the half-roundels or scallops, and a roll on the angle; on the middle order is an angle roll, and on the inner a series of diamonds or lozenges. Part of the grooved and chamfered abacus remains, but the shafts and capitals have been hacked away.

The early Norman church at Gillingham has, on the west side of the tower, an annexe, probably for a baptistery; and on the west and north sides of this are good semi-circular headed doorways. That on the west is certainly of early date, with the billet ornament on the hood-mould; then a half-round and bold engaged roll to angle of outer order, plain inner order, and jambs. The abacus is chamfered, and there is one massive shaft, with cushion capital, supporting the outer order. The north doorway, with billet on each chamfered face of the hood-mould, bold raised zigzag on the arch, and scroll on the capitals, seems to be of rather later date. At Quidenham and Fundenhall are large plain and early doorways, with the roll moulding in arch and scroll on the capitals.

As in other parts of England, so here, we find that the zigzag or chevron moulding was in great favour with the early masons, and, though varied in its depth and character, was in general use throughout the greater part of the twelfth century. A good example occurs at Shouldham Thorpe (fig. 3), where the doorway, formerly within the south porch, now occupies the west end of the

FIG. 9.—WROXHAM: SOUTH DOORWAY.

FIG. 10.—CHEDGRAVE.

renovated church. It has a hood-mould and three recessed orders. On the hood-mould, intersecting zigzag lines form a combination of shallow lozenge ornaments. The outer order has rich double zigzag, with a recessed zigzag between; the next, the zigzag again, in three recessed courses and nailheads on the angle; the inner is plain. The abacus has two horizontal grooves, instead of the one usually carved, on the main portion. There is some singular moulding to the inner and outer jambs, and two shafts on each side; the outer ornamented with horizontal chevrons, the inner on right with similar chevrons, but set rather closer together, the inner on left with the cable. The capitals are cushion-shaped, with a shallow V pattern on the upper part.

The south doorway at Tottenhill (fig. 4) has a chamfered hood-mould, with a grooving of oblique lines on the chamfered portion; then three rows of recessed and raised zigzag, with the nailheads at the angle of the inner order. The abacus is chamfered with quarter-round on main and oblique lines on chamfered portion. There is one shaft on each side, with varied scroll foliage on, and a head at the angle of, each of the capitals. There is a plain inner order and jambs, from the upper part of which springs a bracket on either side, billet-shaped and sculptured with chevrons. The tympanum, with cross within a circle carved on it, has been already referred to.

The south doorway at Mintlyn is very similar in its design. It has a hood-mould, with the saw-tooth and indented ornaments on the upper, and oblique grooved lines on the chamfered portion. On the archivolt moulding is a double row of zigzag, separated by a hollow, and with a small roll on the angle. The abacus has the quarter-round on the upper, and the double cone, connected by double bands, on the chamfered portion. The shafts are gone, but one cushion capital remains on each side. The tympanum, already described, was formerly supported on billet-shaped brackets.

At Roydon, in this same district, are north and south doorways, both exhibiting good specimens of the chevron ornament.

At Castle Rising, as in other important twelfth-century churches—as, for instance, Iffley and Stewkley—we find north, south, and west doorways, the western one being the most important. This has a hood-mould and three recessed orders. On the outer order is a row of billets with the out-turned zigzag on either side, and on the middle order a roll on the angle with out-turned zigzag set on either side of it, the inner order and jambs being plain. There are two shafts to the outer orders with scalloped capitals. The window and arcading above the doorway furnish us with very rich examples of Norman carving. The north and south doorways are less ornate, but also have the zigzag on the arches.

Another interesting doorway of about the middle of the twelfth century is that at the west end of Aldeby Church (fig. 5).

"It has a hood-mould and four recessed orders; on the hood-mould in a hollow are a series of scallops or half-roundels; the outer order has a roll on the angle, the next a raised and recessed zigzag, the next a roll and the inner is plain. There is a chamfered abacus and three engaged shafts to the outer orders. Of the outer capitals, that on the north side represents a quaint head with long ears and beaded foliage coming from the mouth; that on the south has scroll ornament; while the two inner capitals on each side have leaves and foliage."[1]

At Worthing, Langford, Gaywood, Ovington, Limpenhoe, and many more places, are also fine doorways, where the most noticeable feature on the arches is this distinctive chevron or zigzag ornament.

Another very popular moulding in the Norfolk churches is the billet, and this we generally find introduced on the dripstone or hood-mould. It is often found in early work, but occurs throughout the Norman period of architecture. The two doorways at Gillingham, and

[1] *Archæological Journal*, lxiv., 95.

FIG. 11.—ASHBY: SOUTH DOORWAY.

the northern one at Haddiscoe, have already been described; and we find also a double row of this ornament introduced on the hood-moulds of doorways at Barton Bendish, St. Andrew's, Burgh-in-Flegg (north and south), Clippesby (north), Fishley, Framingham Earls (north), Hellington, and Ovington; on the arches at Hardwick, Hasingham, and Hillington; and in a single band at Magdalen Chapel, St. Etheldred's, and St. Michael at Thorn, Norwich, Great Ormesby, Thurston, Thwayt, and Wimbotsham. In the Dawson Turner Collections, viii., 190, is an illustration of the south doorway at Hillington Church, not now in existence. It is in three orders, with zigzag on the outer, double billet and double cone on the middle, and a moulding, not clearly defined, and zigzag on the inner order. There is a star or lozenge ornament on the abacus, and three shafts with scalloped capitals.

The south doorway at Great Ormesby, or Ormesby St. Margaret, is much coated with grey wash, but has some interesting details. The arch has a hood-mould and three recessed orders. On the chamfer of the hood-mould is a course of billets; on the outer order is the raised, sunk, small, and bold raised zigzag, the sunk zigzag being continued down the jambs; on the next order a single and double course of oblong billets or labels, diapered with small dotted holes; on the inner order, bold zigzag, with nailheads between the chevrons on the angle. The abacus is chamfered. There is a shaft with scalloped capital to the middle order, and engaged shaft without capital to the inner order. The bases rest on blocks of stone, as at Hales, etc., a foot above the present ground level.

The south doorway at St. Etheldred's Church, Norwich, has been much restored, and does not now correspond with the illustration in Cotman's *Architectural Etchings*. It has some uncommon features, and now consists of a hood-mould and three recessed orders. On the hood-mould is the elliptic arched, a late type of ornament rarely occurring in East Anglia, and a series of a sort of

out-turned scallops, ornamented with foliage on either side. On the outer order is a bold roll, and between this and the next a series of banded billets, with foliage and other conventional patterns between each billet. On the next order is a roll and a series of raised leaves or roses, with conventional foliage between each leaf or rose. There is a new roll moulding to the inner order. The abacus is grooved and chamfered. There are two shafts on each side, renewed and with new claws to the bases. On the capitals on the west is carved foliage; on those on the east, beaded scroll and a head at the angle. On the outer jamb on the east is a sundial. The doorway at Barton Bendish, St. Andrew's, is obtusely pointed with the double billet and roll moulding.

Another favourite ornament, and one occurring on many of the typical East Anglian doorways, which will be described later on, is a label moulding, the labels generally pierced with small holes or, otherwise, ornamented. A good example occurs on the south doorway, now within the vestry, of St. Julian's Church, Norwich. This has a hood-mould and two recessed orders, with a roll on the angle of the hood-mould, a series of ornamented labels on the outer, and of scallops on the inner order, each set on an angle roll. The shafts, two on each side, with modern-looking capitals, terminate on blocks some way above the present ground level.

Several arches have the roll or torus moulding, so commonly found throughout England, and in a few instances this is carved in imitation of a cable. The beautiful example at Castleacre has already been described, and other instances may be seen at Old Buckenham, St. Michael at Thorn, Norwich, Thwayt, and Wimbotsham. The north doorway at Old Buckenham is small and of rather early date. It has two orders to the arch, with a flat cable, large beads or pellets, and half-round on angle to outer and plain inner order, the usual form of abacus; detached shaft with cushion capital to

the outer order. The south doorway at St. Michael at Thorn has a rich cable pattern associated with the billet and zigzag, and cushion capitals to the shafts. The two doorways at Wimbotsham both have somewhat unusual forms of the cable, described in the *Glossary of Architecture* as the "twining stem," but this is not very accurately represented. On the north doorway it is associated with the double billet and a plain roll moulding. The south doorway (fig. 6) is more elaborate. Here we find the cable or spiral and double billet on the outer order; on the next, a bold raised zigzag on flat surface of the arch, and then a hollow and richly carved cable in a hollow. At the apex of the two inner orders is the head of a bishop or abbot. The abacus is plain and chamfered. There are two shafts on each side: the outer enriched with the cable, the inner with the chevron ornament. The capitals are scalloped: the outer with cable band below. There is a plain (?) old tympanum supported on a wooden lintel. The very fine doorway at Thwayt will be described among those examples which possess distinctive features peculiar to the eastern counties.

A good many of the doorways present us with good examples of the star moulding, both on the arches, abaci, capitals, and jambs. A good example remains at Shingham, where, on the south doorway, is a double row of the star ornament on the hood-mould, which terminates on dragons' heads; then we have a row of circles or hearts, then zigzag, then a course of a somewhat uncommon form of the star ornament, then a roll, and then a course of the beaded star. The capitals, two on each side, are scalloped.

At Kenninghall, the south doorway has some uncommon features. It has two recessed orders; to the outer is a quarter-round, and bold roll on the angle. The abacus is massive, and chamfered with the star on the chamfer on both sides and on the upper face on the western portion. There is a massive shaft with scalloped capital to this

order. The inner arch has the richer form of the star ornament, and quarter-round on the upper part and star on chamfer of the abacus. The inner jambs are plain. On the west shaft is carved one of the small crosses so commonly found on these early doorways, and probably of a votive character, viz., to register a vow by some traveller to benefit the church if he returned in safety from his journey. On the jambs outside the shafts are two early carvings, viz., on the west, a horse with saddle and trappings; and on the east, an animal with long twisted tail, which it is in the act of biting.

The blocked north doorway of South Lopham Church has two rows of the cheese moulding on the hood-mould; then sunk and raised zigzag on the outer, and fourteen large sunk stars on the inner order. The abacus is chamfered with quarter-round on main portion. To the outer order are octagonal shafts, with cushion capitals, slightly ornamented.

Good examples of the star also occur on the arches at Ashby, Chedgrave, Hales, and Heckingham.

The frette moulding does not seem to have been used much in Norfolk, and the only example on the doorways is at Larling. Here the south entrance (fig. 7) is much enriched and of unusual design. On the outer order are small moulded ornaments, viz., knots, cables, a sort of beakhead, etc.; next comes a plain roll, then a row of raised stars and other ornaments, then another roll, and then another row of small studded ornaments. The inner order is plain. There are two capitals on each side ornamented with heads and interlacing foliage, and a cable band at the base. There are also two banded shafts on each side, and the upper part is ornamented: of the inner, with zigzags enclosing lozenges; of the outer, with the beaded cable. On the outside of the jamb is a course of curious double frette, continued to the ground.

At Holme by Runcton, the south doorway (fig. 8) is of rather uncommon character. It has a plain chamfered

hood-mould and two orders. The outer is composed of seventeen voussoirs, each one having a saltire carved on it, with a bead within each of the upper and lower arms, and in some instances at the sides. These form sunk lozenges, half being on each voussoir. On the soffit are a series of flat dentils, one on each voussoir. To this order is a chamfered abacus partly ornamented with the saw-tooth, and one shaft on each side with two bands, and a capital enriched with foliage, and a cable band below. The inner order and jambs are plain with chamfered edge.

The south doorway at Wroxham (fig. 9) is a very fine example, but much restored. The arch is recessed in four orders, with, on the outer two rows of interlacing semi-circles placed back to back; then a roll, then a rich beaded guilloche, then a roll, then a series of oval medallions each enclosing a four-leaved rose, then a roll, and then a course of lozenge and double row of zigzag. The abacus is richly ornamented with foliage, a head, bird, etc. There are three shafts on each side, each, where perfect, having two bands, the upper ones ornamented with foliage, the lower with a variety of interlaced work. Between the bands the shafts are ornamented, viz., the outer on left with the cable, the middle on left with sunk and beaded chevrons alternately. The inner on right has the beaded cable, the middle on right the sunk and beaded chevrons alternately, somewhat different to that on left. The inner on left and outer on right are gone. The two outer capitals on each side have quaint demons sculptured on them; the inner, beaded interlacing scroll foliage. The inner order and jambs are plain.

The only other doorway, not of the distinctive East Anglian type, we shall venture to describe, is the very curious example on the south side of Little Snoring Church. Here is a kind of containing arch, horseshoe shaped, with a series of twenty-two pairs of trefoil leaves on the outer order, and plain inner roll. This encloses an acutely pointed arch, with chamfered order, and a

double row of bold out-turned zigzag on either side of a roll; some of the chevrons enclosing leaves, and with the head of a priest or monk at the apex. Within this is another plain semi-circular headed arch, with a leaf as a chamfer stop on each side. There are nook shafts to the outer and middle arches. The capitals, many of which are much mutilated, have varied designs of foliage.

We now come to those specially characteristic East Anglian doorways, mostly grouped together in the district to the south-east of Norwich. A few examples occur in north-east Suffolk, as, for instance, at Mettingham; and in this county also the out-turned half-circles or "cheese" moulding, was often used. The finest Norfolk specimens are those at Hales, Heckingham, Hellington, and Thwayt, or Thwaite St. Mary's; the doorways at Mundham, Ashby, Thurston, Thurlton, Chedgrave, Kirby Cane, and Framingham Earl being also of this type. The doorway at South Lopham also has the cheese moulding. The north and south doorways at Easton, in a different district, are of this distinctive character. The north portal is pointed with a row of roses, squares, etc., studded on the hood-mould; then billet on right, and lozenges, connected by a band—on left, abacus, which is chamfered. There is one banded shaft on each side, the left band ornamented. The shafts below the bands are octagonal, above, cylindrical. There is a horned head on the left capital, and on the inner left jamb is a lozenge pattern, carried down to the ground. The south doorway also has a series of medallions studded on the hood-mould, a roll in arch, and billet on left and lozenge on right abacus. There is one shaft on each side banded, and octagonal below the band.

At Marlingford we also find a row of roundels studded on the face and soffit of the arch, star and indented on the abaci, one shaft with scalloped capital, and a row of bold double zigzag carried down the outer jambs to the ground.

FIG. 13.—THURSTON : SOUTH DOORWAY.

FIG. 14.—MUNDHAM : SOUTH DOORWAY.

At North Burlingham, or Burlingham St. Andrews, is inserted, above the outer arch of the south porch, portions of a former Norman doorway, viz., the hood-mould, with roses within circles studded on it at intervals, and saltires and a chevron pattern on the chamfered portion.

The north doorway at Clippesby, which has been much renovated, has the saltire ornament, which is somewhat uncommon, and the shafts terminate on the masonry blocks about a foot above the present ground level. There is a well-carved votive cross on the east jamb. At Kirby Cane, the doorway is apparently rather later than some of the more ornate specimens in the same neighbourhood, and of a somewhat different type, though it possesses one of the peculiar characteristics which may entitle it to be included in this special category. This south doorway

"has a hood-mould and two recessed orders; on the hood-mould we find a series of sixteen roses or sunflowers, with large ball-shaped centre, on the chamfer, and a monster head at the apex. On the outer order is a course of beaded and raised zigzag, with the points set on an engaged angle roll. On the inner order is a course of bold out-turned zigzag, with a small zigzag band on each side continued round the arch and down the jambs to the ground. There is a grooved and chamfered abacus to the hood-mould and outer order, and one shaft on each side supporting the latter, the west ornamented with the cable, the east with the chevron moulding. On each capital is a quaint bearded head. The bases rest on blocks of masonry as at Hales."[1]

At Chedgrave, two fine Norman doorways are incorporated in the walls of a late eighteenth-century church. One has zigzag mouldings and scalloped capitals. The other (fig. 10) is very fine, with an outer course of the double "cheese" moulding; then a row of lozenges enclosing roses, then a series of very curious beaded stars, leaves, and other ornaments, then a row of leaves, etc., then a cable band, then a course of scallops enclosing leaves, and then a roll. There are three shafts on each side, the outer having the cable, the middle the zigzag moulding,

[1] *Archæological Journal*, lxiv., 108.

while the inner are plain. The capitals are scalloped and ornamented with the acanthus. The abacus is chamfered.

The two doorways at Framingham Earl are smaller than the more important examples still to be described. The north doorway has a double row of billet on the hood-mould, a series of labels on a roll in the arch, and star on the abacus. The south doorway has eight roundels, each enclosing an eight-rayed star, studded on the hood-mould, which terminates on the west in a cable band, on the east, in two stars and two shallow lozenges. Then comes a series of broad labels on a roll, some being grooved or notched, one ornamented with small concentric circles, another with a small circle enclosing a star. The west abacus has the cable ornament on the face and double billet on the chamfer; the east has a row of stars on the upper and chamfered portion. There are no shafts.

The south doorway (fig. 11) of Ashby-by-Loddon is very fine, with hood-mould and three recessed orders. On the hood-mould is the lozenge and other ornamentation; on the outer order are several rows of zigzag, then a band of the star, and the double cone joined by bands, as at Hales, and then more rows of zigzag. The abacus is plain and chamfered. There are two shafts on each side: one capital is cushion-shaped, the other has an early foliated design.

The south doorway at Thurlton (fig. 12), the only relic of the old Norman church, is also a very typical example.

"It has a hood-mould and three recessed orders: on the former are two rows of the out-turned scallops or cheese moulding and a row of ornamental nail heads or cones on the chamfer, while on the outer order is a band of small and bold raised zigzag, on the next a series of beaded scrolls or crozier heads" (an unique design), "on the inner, the double cone, with bands at intervals on the face, and zigzag on the soffit. There is a chamfered abacus with the quarter round moulding on the main portion, one shaft to the two outer, and engaged shaft to the inner order, all with cushion capitals."[1]

[1] *Archæological Journal*, lxiv., 101.

At Thurston are two good Norman doorways. The north entrance, now closed up, has the billet and roll mouldings. The south doorway (fig. 13) is very fine, with the double row of out-turned scallops, the cheese moulding, on the hood-mould; then several rows of zigzag, then a roll, and then a double row of zigzag. The abacus is chamfered. There are two main and three small shafts on each side. The capitals are scalloped, or have early foliated patterns.

The south doorway (fig. 14) of Mundham Church is another excellent specimen. It has the double cheese moulding on the hood-mould, then a series of irregular labels on an angle roll, then a series of pairs of crozier heads on a roll, and an inner course of bold zigzag. On the abacus is the ornamental star. There are two main and a small inner shaft on each side. The inner shafts are ornamented with the cable moulding; the middle are plain; the outer have beaded chevrons. On the jamb between the middle and outer shafts are nailheads with lozenges between. Down the outer jambs are concave ovals, enclosing leaves, as at Thwayt and Heckingham. The capitals on the two outer shafts are plain cushion, with flat foliage on lower part.

At Hellington are two very admirably sculptured doorways. The north entrance has double billet on the hood-mould, which terminates on heads, and two orders; on the outer is a hollow, engaged angle roll, and zigzag on the soffit, one the inner are twelve voussoirs, each ornamented with two saltires. The abacus is grooved and chamfered. There is one shaft to the outer order with cushion capital. The south doorway (fig. 15) is partly concealed by the walls of the porch. It has a hood-mould, three main and two intermediate recessed orders. On the hood-mould is the alternate billet; on the outer order raised recessed and bold raised zigzag on the angle, then a double course of the cheese moulding, then a band of large double cones, then a series of billets pierced

with small holes, and then a zigzag with engaged roll on the angle. On the upper part of the abacus are intersecting zigzag lines enclosing small lozenges. This pattern, with some additional beading, is carried down the inner jambs. There are three engaged shafts on each side with scalloping and early scroll foliage on the capitals. A band of nailheads, with sunk lozenges between, is carried down the jambs between the outer shafts.

One of the very finest of these portals is to be found at the little out-of-the-way church of Thwayt, or Thwaite St. Mary's (fig. 16). It is on the south side, and was evidently constructed at the same time, and under the same supervision, as those at Hales and Heckingham. The arch has a hood-mould and three recessed orders, with a monster head above the apex. The hood-mould is enriched with two courses of the cheese moulding, each scallop grooved in the centre, so as to represent a pair of scallops conjoined. The hood-mould formerly terminated on a head on either side, but only that on the east now remains. On the outer order (fig. 17) are a series of labels resting on a bold angle roll; on the next, a series of ornamental billets, each enriched with a small raised saltire, having a bead between each of the limbs; and then a row of raised scallops or semi-roundels of irregular size, the three western ones ornamented with leaves, and then a bold cable; on the inner is a bold zigzag on face and soffit of the arch, forming lozenges on the angle, the spaces between and within the chevrons being filled in with fleurs-de-lis, roses, and foliage. On the abacus is the ornamented star pattern (this has been partly renewed with plain, uncarved stone). There are three shafts on each side, the inner pair engaged to the jambs. Between the two outer shafts a band of zigzag is carried down each face of the jamb, forming lozenges, each enclosing a pellet, on the angle. Outside the outer shafts are sculptured on the jambs a series of concave ovals, each

FIG. 15.—HELLINGTON: SOUTH DOORWAY.

FIG. 16.—THWAITE : SOUTH DOORWAY.

with incised lines, so as to represent a leaf, as at Heckingham. The inner capital on each side is plain cushion-shaped; the two outer are much ornamented. The outer on left has a human head, with double row of beading below. The next has beaded semi-circles. The inner on the right has the acanthus, and a rose above; the outer, two beaded semi-circles, a row of small indented, and two chevrons, with a cable band below.

At the small church of Hales, which has good Norman arcading running round the eastern apse, are two very ornate doorways. That on the south (fig. 18) has a hood-mould and four recessed orders.

"On the face and chamfer of the hood-mould we find a series of lozenges formed by two intersecting zigzag lines, with fir cones and pellets within the outer chevrons; on the outer order is a hollow and bold roll on the angle; on the next recessed and raised zigzag, and a nailhead within each chevron on the lower side; on the next is a small zigzag band, and a series of pairs of square labels or billets with beading" (or small holes punched) "on them; and on the inner order a hollow and angle roll. There are a grooved and chamfered abacus, and two massive shafts, with a smaller engaged shaft between and on either side of them, with cushion capitals, and several votive crosses on the shafts. A band of the star ornament is carried down the inner jamb on each side, and the same moulding appears on and below the bases, which terminate about one foot from the ground, on blocks of masonry with engaged shafts at the angles."[1]

The north doorway (fig. 19) is the principal entrance, and resembles in its details the noble example at Heckingham. Cotman describes it as "one of the finest arches in existence," and his illustration is a very admirable one.

"It has a hood-mould and four deeply recessed orders, on the former of which we find a series of seventeen raised roundels, most of them having the eight spokes radiating from the centre, as at Heckingham, but only three have the beading between the spokes, while a few have an eight-rayed star instead of the wheel. They are joined by a band ornamented with the zigzag, and on the chamfered portion of the hood-mould are a series of eight-rayed stars within square panels. On the outer order is a course of raised and recessed zigzag with bold raised

1 *Archæological Journal*, lxiv., 105.

zigzag with the nailheads within the chevrons at the angle. On the next course are a series of eight-rayed stars on the face of the order, and bold double cones divided by single beaded, and in three instances by double beaded, bands on the angle. On the next order are a band of small triple zigzag on the face, and an eight-rayed star on the chamfer, and on the inner order recessed and bold raised zigzag with the nailheads within the chevrons." There is "a grooved and chamfered abacus with a bit of bunch foliage above the capitals. There are two bold jamb shafts on each side to the middle orders, with scalloped bases. The capitals are elaborately carved with bunch foliage, the star, cable, etc., the outer on the east being the most ornate. On the jambs below the hood-mould and outer order are several varieties of the star ornament, but the inner jambs are plain. The bases rest on blocks of masonry with engaged shafts at the angles, as in the south doorway, and at Heckingham."[1]

At Heckingham is a comparatively small church in an unimportant village, but still possessing a relic of the piety and generosity of the twelfth century inhabitants, of which the present generation may well be proud. The north doorway has been blocked up, and only a portion, with zigzag on the arch, remains. The south doorway (fig. 20), within a porch, is perhaps the grandest specimen of the Norman portals of the special East Anglian type. An excellent illustration of it is given in the third series of Cotman's *Architectural Etchings*, and the following account of it, by Rickman, occurs in the letterpress.

"Of the many Norman doorways we have had to notice, perhaps none can be considered much superior to this one at Heckingham; it is remarkably bold in its general features, shows well at a distance, and on a nearer examination is found to be elaborately enriched by the carving of some of the smaller members, so that altogether it becomes a most valuable repository for the student, and it will be found, in its details, to harmonize with many of the other doorways we have noticed.

A very full and minute description of the doorway then follows, and attention is drawn to some of the salient features, and especially to the moulded plinths beneath the bases of the shafts, of which mention has already been made at Hales, Kirby Cane, Clippesby, etc. In the account of this doorway in the *Archæological Journal*,

[1] *Archæological Journal*, lxiv., 106.

FIG. 17.—THWAITE: DETAILS OF SOUTH DOORWAY.

vol. lxiv., p. 104, by the author of this article, the portal is described as—

"a grand example of Norman work. It has a hood-mould and four recessed orders. On the hood-mould is a series of twenty-six raised roundels, each with eight lines or spokes radiating from the centre, suggesting a wheel with a small circular bead between each spoke. They are connected by a band, but are irregularly arranged and vary in size. To the outer order is a band of raised zigzag, a hollow and another course of bold raised zigzag; to the next a series of square labels, very irregular in size, and pierced with numerous small holes on the chamfered face of the arch"; then come "two intersecting" zigzag "lines with bands at" regular intervals forming "a series of saltires within square panels," and with a bead between each limb of the saltire; on the next is "a good example of the double cone, the cones being separated by single, double, and in one instance triple, bands; then another band of the saltire on the face and the beaded ornamental star on the soffit of the arch moulding; on the inner order is a bold raised zigzag with nailheads within the chevrons. There is a grooved and chamfered abacus with the indented pattern between the groove and the chamfered portion. Four engaged shafts stand on each side with large capitals, cushion-shaped and with scroll, leaves, and other ornaments, some with a cable band below. The bases are well moulded and rest on a sort of subsidiary shafts about a foot from the ground level. They have some ornamentation, the cable, chevron, indented, etc. The hood-mould is continued down the outer jambs with a double row of the cheese moulding on each side, while on the jamb between the two middle shafts on each side are carved a series of sunk ovals with incised lines to give them the appearance of leaves. The sculpture is no doubt rude, but the effect is fine, and exemplifies the labour bestowed on the doorways in the twelfth century, even in so small and remote a parish, as this must always have been." (Fig. 21.)

An excursion to this district was carried out by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society on Tuesday, July 16th, 1907, and in the account of the proceedings in the *Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette* issued on the following Saturday, we read the following corroboration of our own opinion as to this noble specimen of the art of the early masons:—

"But the chief glory of the Church is its north" (this should be south) "door. We saw nothing during the day which at all approached this beautiful example of Norman workmanship—imposing in its massiveness, and graceful in its ornamentation. It stands within the porch, and thus protected from the action of the weather, it remains in all its original splendour."

This doorway, in common with most of this type, is comparatively early in the Norman style, and was certainly constructed in the reign of King Stephen, or between the years 1135 and 1150.

Of the Transitional Norman period, which, roughly speaking, extended from 1175 to 1210, Norfolk possesses very few examples. There are pointed arched doorways at Clippesby, Easton, and Hardwick, but these all seem to have been, originally, semi-circular.

At Thorpe-by-Haddiscoe is a plain north doorway, which is a late type, and at Thorpe Abbots is a pointed doorway which also comes within this period.

The west doorway of Barton Bendish St. Mary's, said to have been brought from elsewhere, is an interesting example, with some late and peculiar features. It has an outer course of scallop and dog-tooth, then a row of beakheads on a roll, and then a course of the double cone. The abacus is plain and chamfered. There are two shafts on each side. To the outer a series of labels are attached from the jambs, and a band of shallow elliptic arched is carried down the outer jambs. The inner shafts are moulded into the double cone pattern, so as to form a continuation of the inner order to the ground. The capitals are foliated, the inner on the left ornamented with two roses. This doorway is probably very late in the twelfth century.

The south doorway at West Barsham has an outer pointed arch, with zigzag and roll mouldings resting on banded shafts with foliated capitals. This encloses a plain semi-circular inner arch.

The west doorway at Walsoken is round-headed, with numerous roll and keel-shaped members; so also is the beautiful west doorway at West Walton. Here the outer arch is semi-circular, and encloses two pointed arches. On the main arch is a hood-mould, with roses and dog-tooth in a hollow, and the four recessed orders, with numerous small roll and keel-shaped members, and one course of

dog-tooth in a hollow. One of the roll members has a deep groove or channel cut on its face, similar to what we find on the west doorway of the Temple Church, London, and other examples of late Norman and Transitional work, and it is therefore not improbable that this doorway dates from quite the early part of the thirteenth century, and before the Norman influence had completely died out.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this, perhaps somewhat imperfect, attempt to describe the Norman doorways of Norfolk may have the salutary effect of increasing the interest in these relics of the piety and skill of the early builders, who certainly, to the best of their ability, endeavoured in these sacred edifices to promote the glory of God, and a strong sense of veneration on the part of the creature towards his Creator.

APPENDIX

The following is a list of Churches in the County with Norman Doorways, which have come under the notice of the writer, with references to the various authorities in which they are mentioned:—

* Those personally visited by C. E. Keyser.

The following full titles are shortened for convenience:—

Dawson Turner, Drawings, Engravings, etc., illustrating Blomefield's "History of Norfolk," British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 23024-23062.

Cotman's Architectural Etchings, 2 vols., 5 series.

ACRE, CASTLE, PRIORY, Church.*

Cotman, series i., pl. i. and iii., pl. xii.
Beauties of England and Wales, Norfolk, p. 300.
Excursions through Norfolk, ii., 12.
Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, v., 43.
Bloom, History of Castle Acre.

ALDEBY Church.*
Archæological Journal, lxiv., p. 94, pl. v.

ASHBY (near Loddon) Church.*
Dawson Turner Collections, i., 61.

BARSHAM, West, Church.
Cotman, series ii., pl. v.
Collectanea Archæologica, ii., p. 194, pl. xxii.

BARTON BENDISH, St. Andrew's Church.*

BARTON BENDISH, St. Mary's Church.*
Cotman, series iii., pl. iii.

BAWSEY Church.*

BEDINGHAM Church.
Dawson Turner Collections, ii., 70.

BINHAM ABBEY Church.*

BRETTENHAM Church.

BROMHOLM Priory.*

BUCKENHAM Ferry Church.
Cotman, series ii., pl. vi.
Dawson Turner Collections, iii., 59.

BUCKENHAM, OLD, Church.*

BURGH-IN-FLEGG Church.*
Dawson Turner Collections, iii., 155.

BURLINGHAM, NORTH, St. Andrew's Church.*
Cotman, series ii., pl. vii.

BURLINGHAM, SOUTH, St. Edmund's Church.*
Cotman, series ii., pl. viii.

CHEDGRAVE Church.*
Cotman, series iii., pl. xv.
Dawson Turner Collections, iv., 205, 206.

CLIPPESBY Church.*

CRIMPLESHAM Church.*

DEREHAM, EAST, Church.*
Cotman, series ii., pl. xvi.
King's Munimenta Antiqua, vol. iv., p. 162, pl. xxviii.

DUNHAM, GREAT, Church.*

FIG. 18.—HALES : SOUTH DOORWAY.

EASTON Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, vi., 101, 102.

FISHLEY Church.*

FRAMINGHAM EARL Church.

Blomefield's History of Norfolk, ed. 1807, v., 434.
Excursions through Norfolk, i., 47.
Cotman, series ii., pl. xxii.
Dawson Turner Collections, vii., 120—2, and 2nd series, iii., 64, 65.

FRAMINGHAM PIGOTT Church.

FUNDENHALL Church.*

GAYTONTHORPE Church.*

GAYWOOD Church.*

GILLINGHAM, St. Mary's Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, vii., 174.
Archæological Journal, lxiv., p. 94, pl. iii.

GISSING Church.

HADDISCOE Church*

Cotman, series i., pl. xx.
Dawson Turner Collections, vii., 209, and 2nd series, iii., 146—7.
The Glossary of Architecture.
Archæological Journal, lxiv., pp. 97—8, pl. viii.

HALES Church.*

Cotman, series, i., pl. xxv.; series ii., pl. xxiv.
Dawson Turner Collections, viii., 5, 6.
The Glossary of Architecture.
Archæological Journal, lxiv., pp. 105—7, pls. xvii., xviii.

HARDWICK Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, 2nd series, iii., 155.

HASINGHAM Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, viii., 77.

HECKINGHAM Church.*

Cotman, series iii., pl. xxii.
Dawson Turner Collections, viii., 98.
Archæological Journal, lxiv., pp. 103—4, pls. xiv., xv.

HELLINGTON Church.

Blomefield's History of Norfolk, viii., 466.
Excursions through Norfolk, i., 91.
Dawson Turner Collections, viii., 105.
Norfolk Archæologia, v., 197.

HILLINGTON Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, viii., 190.

HOLME-BY-RUNCTON Church.*

Cotman, series i., pl. xxii.

HORSHAM ST. FAITH'S Priory Church.*

KENNINGHALL Church.*

Blomefield's History of Norfolk, i., 223.
Excursions through Norfolk, ii., 164.
Dawson Turner Collections, x., 78.
Norfolk Archæologia, vii., 297.

KIRBY BEDON Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, x., 120.

KIRBY CANE Church.*

Cotman, series ii., pl. xxxi.
Dawson Turner Collections, x., 127.
Archæological Journal, lxiv., p. 108, pl. xix.

LANGFORD Church.

LARLING Church.*

LIMPENHOE Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, x., 182, and 2nd series, iv., 76.

LOPHAM, SOUTH, Church.*

Norfolk Archæologia, xiv. 57.

MARLINGFORD Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, 2nd series, iv., 116.

MINTLYN Church.*

Cotman, series iii., pl. xxix.
Dawson Turner Collections, xii., 188.
C. E. Keyser, A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels, pp. xxx., 29.

MUNDHAM Church.

Cotman, series ii., pl. xxx.
Dawson Turner Collections, xii., 202.

NORWICH Castle.*

Dawson Turner Collections, xv., 38, 39, 40, 45.
British Archæological Association Journal, xiv., 67.

NORWICH Cathedral.*

Glossary of Architecture, Appendix.
Norfolk Archæologia, ix., 363.

NORWICH, Magdalen Chapel.

Dawson Turner Collections, xv., 86, 87.

FIG. 19.—HALES : NORTH DOORWAY.

FIG. 20.—HECKINGHAM: SOUTH DOORWAY.

Fig. 21.—Heckingham: Details of South Doorway.

FIG. 12.—THURLTON : SOUTH DOORWAY.

NORWICH St. Etheldred's Church.*

Cotman, series iii., pl. xxxii.
Dawson Turner Collections, xvi., 46.
Norfolk Archæologia, ix., 345.

NORWICH, St. Julian's Church.*

Excursions through Norfolk, i., 25.
Dawson Turner Collections, xvi., 156.

NORWICH, St. Margaret's Hospital.

NORWICH, St. Michael at Thorn Church.*

Dawson Turner Collections, xvii., 37.

NORWICH, St. Peter's Church.

ORMESBY, GREAT, St. Margaret's Church.*

Dawson Turner Collections, xviii., 45.

OVINGTON Church.*

PLUMSTEAD, LITTLE, Church.

QUIDENHAM Church.*

RISING, CASTLE, Castle.*

RISING, CASTLE, Church.*

Cotman, series i., pl. xvi.
Bowman's Ecclesiastical Architecture, *Castle Rising*, pls. ii., iii., v.

ROYDON Church.*

RUNHALL Church.

SHINGHAM Church.*

Cotman, series ii., pl. xli.
Dawson Turner Collections, xxi., 3, 4, 5.

SHOULDHAM THORPE Church.*

Cotman, series iii., pl. xxxv.

SNORING, LITTLE, Church.*

Cotman, series i., pl. xxiv.
Dawson Turner Collections, xxi., 93.
Gentleman's Magazine, Supplement, vol. xcv., pt. i., p. 577.
The Glossary of Architecture.

THETFORD Abbey.*

Dawson Turner Collections, xxii., 162.

THORPE ABBOTS Church.

Archæologia, vol. xxiii., pl. vii.

THORPE-BY-HADDISCOE Church.*

Archæological Journal, lxiv., 99.

THREXTON Church.

THURLTON Church.*

Cotman, series iii., pl. xxxix.
Dawson Turner Collections, xxiii., 37.
Archæological Journal, lxiv., p. 101, pl. xii.

THURSTON Church.*

THWAYT OR THWAITE, St. Mary's Church.*

Cotman, series i., pl. xxiv.
Dawson Turner Collections, xxiii., 41.

TOTTENHILL Church.*

Cotman, series ii., pl. xliii.
Dawson Turner Collections, xxiii., 67.
Gentleman's Magazine, new series, xxxiv., 395.
Archæologia, xlvii., 165.
C. E. Keyser, A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels, pp. xxix., 51, fig. 12.

TUDDENHAM, EAST, Church.

WALSINGHAM Abbey.*

Dawson Turner Collections, xxiv., 106, 107.

WALSOKEN Church.*

The Fen and Marshland Churches, 1st series.

WALTON, WEST, Church.*

WIMBOTSHAM Church.*

Cotman, series i., pl. xxiii.

WORTHING Church.*

WRAMPLINGHAM Church.

Dawson Turner Collections, 2nd series, ix., 247.

WROXHAM Church.*

Cotman, series i., pl. xxvi.

NORMAN FONTS IN NORFOLK

By the Editor

THE county of Norfolk is rich in interesting examples of fonts of all the recognized periods of architecture, and particularly so, especially in the north-western district, in fonts dating from Norman, if not Saxon, days.

To commence first with the latest and work backwards, as the main object of this paper is to deal with fonts of the Norman period, and the problems connected with them, Norfolk contains many fine Perpendicular fonts, more than one of which illustrates the truth of Paley's statement[1] "that in respect of execution, Perpendicular fonts are unquestionably the best." The bowls, as had been the custom since the thirteenth century, are, without exception, octagonal, and the panels are often adorned with representations of the Seven Sacraments, with the Crucifixion on the eighth, beneath rich Gothic arches and tracery. This is the case at Walsoken, East Dereham, and Walsingham. The shaft is usually ornamented in the same manner as the bowl—as, for example, at Walsoken, where the niches are occupied with figures of saints, St. Paul, St. John, and St. Margaret being among those represented. The approach to these fonts was generally by five or six steps, which gave them an imposing appearance, and the edges or *risers* of these steps are often richly panelled with sunken quatrefoils or other tracery, as at Walsingham, St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich,

1 *Baptismal Fonts*, p. 18.

and Worstead. At Yaxham, also, there is a remarkable font belonging to this period, which is described in the old books as being in "high florid Gothic"; this is figured in Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities*, and has been reproduced in the font at Cromer.

Decorated fonts, according to Paley, are "often the worst and coarsest specimens of sculpture and detail." This is, as he notes, "a curious fact," but it will be borne out by all who have studied the subject, and it would seem as though the energies of the builders of that period was exhausted by the labour bestowed on piers and window tracery, which left no time for care and thought to be bestowed on the details of fonts. There are, however, one or two good examples in Norfolk, as at Shalfanger, near Diss, which is a beautiful font, bearing in the panels the arms of Adam Bosville, who was patron in 1362, and probably the donor, and the initials of his name; and at Ditchingham and Postwick and St. Gregory and All Saints', Norwich.

There do not appear to be many examples which can be assigned definitely to the Early English style; but at Belaugh, where there is a fine though mutilated screen, there is an interesting Transitional Norman font. This is circular, with the bowl cup-shaped on the lower part, supported on a massive central pillar, and having on the upper part four plain semi-circular arches, springing from detached shafts, with moulded capitals and bases. At Ingoldisthorpe, near Hunstanton, there is a curious example of a Norman square font made octagonal, in this or the succeeding period—probably early in the fourteenth century, when the craze for symbolism was at its height—and the remains of the original Norman carving may be seen on each alternate side.

Coming now to fonts belonging to the Norman period, we find only four such surviving in the county generally, but a remarkable group deserving special notice in the north-western district. The four are at Hautbois Magna,

near Wroxham; at St. Mary's, Thetford; at Heckingham; and at Breccles, near Watton. The ancient font at Hautbois Magna was removed from the old church, when it was abandoned to ruin, in 1864, and placed in the new church then built. It is quite Early Norman, with interlaced Runic work.

Mr. R. J. W. Purdy, in an instructive notice of the place in *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xvi., p. 151, says:—

"The dilapidated church of the Assumption of St. Mary the Virgin is well worthy of inspection. Its walls contain fragments of materials that belonged to buildings far older—Roman tiles, a rough block of Purbeck marble, a beautifully carved piece of Barnack stone of Early English workmanship contributing their quota."

Here was a famous image of St. Theobald, commonly called "St. Tibbald of Hobbies," to which many pilgrimages were made on account of the fame of its miracles.

The font at St. Mary's, Thetford, consists merely of a block of unhewn stone, with a circular bowl hollowed out, and four engaged shafts at the angles, with cushion capitals. That at Heckingham is described and figured by Paley. The bowl of this massive and almost unornamented font is square, and perfectly plain. It is supported on a central octagonal pillar, with square base, and four circular shafts at the angles, the capitals of which are ornamented with Ionic volutes; the bases are Early English in character. The date of the font is Late Norman.

BRECCLES font is a fine specimen, and falls into line completely with those to be described below, more particularly with that at Sculthorpe.

The font is square, standing 2 ft. 10 in. high, and is 2 ft. 8 in. across. The depth of the bowl is 13½ in. It is supported on five pillars, with Norman caps, one large central one forming the drain, and one at each angle. Each of the sides is adorned in a different manner: that facing the east contains four rudely carved figures,

probably the Evangelists, under Norman arches and columns; two other sides contain representations of grotesque heads and foliage; that on the north contains an arcade of Norman arches. Is it a hazardous conjecture that the same artist designed the fonts at Sculthorpe and Breccles, and perhaps those at Toftrees, Shernborne, and South Wootton also? Or, if not the same individual, we may, at least, conclude that he belonged to the same school.

We now arrive at the remarkable group of fonts referred to before, which are found in the north-west corner of Norfolk, a group such as does not exist in any other part of the county, nor in any part of England, to such an extent in any similarly restricted area. Some of these fonts have been called "Saxon," and those who maintain their Saxon origin are reluctant to abandon their belief; but, as I hope presently to make clear, although some may have been actually wrought by Saxon artificers, they are still to be considered post-Conquest; and, on the other hand, though one or two may actually belong to the middle or end of the twelfth century, they yet come properly under the designation "Norman," and do not belong to the "Transitional" period between that and the Early English style. These fonts fall naturally into two sub-groups, viz., (1) those ornamented with patterns of various kinds, all bearing a strong family likeness, such as the cable pattern, bead and scroll work, lozenges circles or squares with interlacing lines, inscribed and circumscribed, etc.; and (2) those bearing figure-sculpture, of animals or of men, or both in combination. In some cases the faces of animals or of grotesque monsters are found on the fonts of the first sub-group. Those of the second sub-group are of ruder workmanship, and evidently older than those of the first sub-group. In this paper I shall commence by taking the different fonts in detail, and then go on to discuss the origin or source of the ornamentation and sculpture upon them.

Little Walsingham Font.

A glance at the map will show the situation of these fonts. They are all, with one exception, in the corner of Norfolk which lies between the Wash on the west and a line drawn from Lynn to Wells on the east, and are to be seen in the following eleven churches, viz.: Hunstanton (St. Mary), Ingoldisthorpe (St. Michael), Castle Rising (St. Laurence), South Wootton (St. Mary), Shernborne (SS. Peter and Paul), Bagthorpe (St. Mary), Great Snoring (St. Mary), Toftrees (All Saints), Sculthorpe (All Saints), Fincham (St. Martin), and Burnham Deepdale (St. Mary). Fincham, the only one outside the area named, lies considerably to the south of Lynn, between Downham and Swaffham, but comes within the boundaries of North-west Norfolk. These fonts vary considerably in size, depth of bowl, height, and other particulars; some are circular, most are square, but it will be best to describe details under each particular font.

HUNSTANTON.—This font is figured and thus described by Paley:—

"This is an interesting specimen of a Norman font; the ornaments, though rude, are characteristic. The bowl is square, with shafts at the angles, with 'cushion caps.' The front is ornamented with a rude incised zigzag. It is supported on a massive circular central pillar, with an octagon shaft at each angle. It is 3 ft. 4 in. high; 2 ft. 11 in. across top. The bowl is 14 in. deep, lined with lead, and has a water drain. It stands at the west end of the nave, under the window."

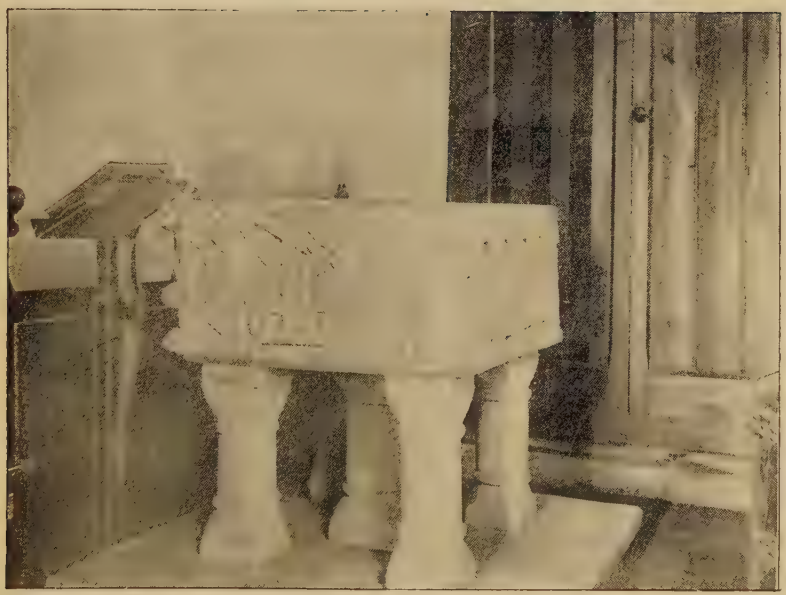
INGOLDISTHORPE.—This font, as already stated, has been mutilated, but sufficient remains of the original font to show the character of the ornamentation. On the *west* side there are round arches and supporting column; on the *south*, cross and circles, with mouldings above and below; on the *east*, beaded scrolls, with leaf (partly cut off), and mouldings above and below; on the *north*, beaded scrolls in diamonds, with fleur de lys. The font is 3 ft. 6 in. high, and is supported on one pillar. The bowl is 10½ in. deep, and is 2 ft. 5 in. across the top

CASTLE RISING.—This is particularly interesting, as the font is almost the only piece of genuine Norman

work in the church, which has been restored in that style, the west front and doorway being good examples of "restored" Norman architecture. Here is to be seen the fine Norman keep, dating from 1176, though some authorities would assign it to an earlier date, and the font is probably of the same period. It is 3 ft. 8 in. high, and is supported on one pillar. The bowl is 12 in. deep, and 2 ft. 3 in. across the top. It is ornamented with a beautiful cable-pattern border all round the top, has three grotesque faces on the *west* side, and a flowing floriated pattern on the *south* side. There is no pattern on the north or east sides, but these are considerably worn, and have been recently patched.

SOUTH WOOTTON.—The church here is in the Early English and Decorated styles, but the ancient font points to the existence of an earlier building on this spot. In the account of a visit of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society here in 1898, the font is stated to belong to the early part of the twelfth century, and this is most probably correct, for at that time the township, like Rising and others, formed part of the vast estates of the family of de Albini. The bowl is square, with grotesque heads at each corner, and in the centre of each side a curious roughly-carved ornament, consisting of an oblong, with a horseshoe below, enclosed in three lines. It rests on eight columns, with a large central one for the drain; all the columns have moulded bases, set upon a square stone, the whole standing on a circular step. The columns have cushion caps. The font is 3 ft. 3 in. high. The bowl is 12 in. deep, and is 2 ft. 4 in. across the top.

SHERNBORNE.—This church has recently been restored by the King, who is the patron. The font is richly ornamented, and is one of those of which it has been stated that "the carving has the characteristics of Saxon work." It is, however, though rudely executed, of pure Norman workmanship. A fine cable moulding runs round



Breccles.

Castle Rising : South Side.

South Wootton.

the top; a pillar, ornamented, and with hatchments on each side of it, stands at each corner; interlacing cable ornament of varied designs occupies the top centre of the north, east, and west sides, while a grotesque head takes up the space below. The bowl rests on four pillars with cushion caps, and with rich cable moulding above. The font stands 3 ft. high. The bowl is 12 in. deep, and 1 ft. 11 in. across the top.

BAGTHORPE.—This font is square. Three sides of it are rough and unhewn. On the remaining side it is ornamented with a circle and interlacing cable work. It is unmistakably Norman, and stands on a modern pediment. The bowl is 12½ in. deep, and 31 in. by 30 in. across the top.

GREAT SNORING.—This font is also certainly Norman, but is quite plain. The bowl stands on four corner pillars, with rude caps, and a large central one containing the drain. It is 10½ in. deep, and 2 ft. 11½ in. by 12 in. across the top, and the font stands 4 ft. 7½ in. high.

TOFTREES.—This font must be taken in connection with that of Shernborne, with which it is closely connected, and is most interesting from the point of view of the origins and development of art. It has been well described (as has also Shernborne) in a paper in the *Reliquary* for April, 1902, to which I would refer the reader. From this paper I take the following extracts:—

"The general design of the fonts at both these places (Shernborne and Toftrees) is the same. The bowl is round inside and square outside, with a short fat column at each of the four corners. The bowl of this font is supported by five small columns with cushion caps (one in the centre and one at each angle)."

—as at Sculthorpe.[1]

"The decorative motives employed by the designer of both the fonts are the same, and include grotesque semi-animal, semi-human heads, interlaced work and foliage."

1 This writer mistakenly says that the font at Sculthorpe has "only four" columns ("the central one being omitted"). This is true of Shernborne, as is perhaps intended.

The grotesque heads on the font are placed at each of the four upper corners of the bowl, while at Shernborne, it will be remembered, they are placed in the middle of each face of the bowl at the bottom. The interlaced work consists of combinations of looped and knotted rings, and in place of the border of plait work and twist and ring pattern, which is found at Shernborne, the font has foliage of the usual Norman type, which is also used on the capitals of the columns, and to fill up the space forming the background of the interlaced work. The writer states that "the most remarkable peculiarity which these two fonts exhibit, as regards their architectural design, is the method of supporting this square bowl on several small pillars of equal size," and in this I agree with him. The more usual plan is to have a large pillar in the centre, with four smaller pillars clustered round it (as in the case of Hunstanton). The small columns at each corner of the bowl are also of rare occurrence, at all events in other parts of England.

"The sculpture is extremely rich, and the symmetrical devices, composed of interlaced rings, are introduced with very good decorative effect. The device on the north side of the font, as on that at Shernborne, is composed of two square rings, one having four Stafford knots at the corners, and the other four plain loops. It is difficult to say whether these devices, composed of interlaced rings, were intended to be merely decorative, or whether they had some symbolical meaning. At all events they are to be found elsewhere in Norman sculpture—on the walrus ivory chessmen from the Island of Lewis (now in the British Museum), on Staffordshire clay almanacs, on medieval floor tiles, and survived in use as notarial signs in the seventeenth century."

I would draw special attention to this last paragraph, in view of what will be said later on.

The walrus ivory chessmen are figured in Traill's *Social England*, vol. i., with the following note:—

"They are probably of Icelandic make, but the kite-shaped shield is both Norse and Norman, and the ornamentation of the backs of the seats strongly resembles Norman decorative work."

The ornamentation on this font has been called by some "Anglo-Celtic," and that there is justification for

SHERNBORNE : SOUTH AND EAST SIDES.

this I shall endeavour to show when I come to discuss the origins of this beautiful art. The term might with equal justice be applied to all such elaborately ornamented designs, although the work is characteristically and undoubtedly Norman.

SCULTHORPE.—The font at Sculthorpe forms the connecting link between our two sub-groups, for whereas the eight preceding fonts have been characterized by geometrical ornamentation of varied designs and grotesque figures, and the two remaining ones are occupied almost wholly with human figures, here there is a combination of both. The bowl is square, and stands on four corner columns, and a central one of the same size, with cushion caps; there is a small attached pillar at each corner, with well-marked base and abacus. Cable moulding runs round the top. On the north, south, and west sides there is an elaborate geometrical ornamentation of interlacing rings and cable work, in richly varied design. On the east side is represented the adoration of the Magi, and on it are displayed the figures of St. Joseph, the Blessed Virgin with the Infant Saviour in her arms, and the three Kings of the East, kneeling and presenting their offerings. The figures are placed in five panels, composed of intersecting round arches, divided by columns, and are bold and life-like, though rude in execution, and much worn by time. The font stands 3 ft. 6 in. high. The bowl is 13½ in. deep, and 2 ft. 3 in. across the top.

In connection with what has been said before as to symbolism, it may be noted that Paley mentions the Salamander—that singular and interesting creature which typifies Baptism "with the Holy Ghost and with fire," and is usually represented on fonts as a lizard or serpent-like animal—as being "perhaps" depicted upon this font at Sculthorpe. It may be so, but I must confess, for myself, that I have not been able to discover it.

BURNHAM DEEPDALE and FINCHAM.—These two fonts are so intimately connected—both in their art and in the

vicissitudes of time which brought it about that the former at one period actually occupied "the mean and profane position of a common cistern in the rectory garden" in the latter parish—that they naturally fall to be considered together. It was in 1790 that the Rev. Samuel Pegge, F.S.A., the Staffordshire antiquary, called the attention of the Rev. Mr. Crowe, the then rector of Deepdale, to the undoubted antiquity of the font in his church, which he at first considered to be "undoubtedly of Saxon origin," though he considered afterwards that the work was "post-Conquest"; and together they removed the thick incrustation of whitewash which covered it, and brought its ornamentation to light.

The results of their discoveries they brought before the Society of Antiquaries, and their notes were published in *Archæologia* in 1792. As a curious illustration of the ecclesiastical conscience of the day, Mr. Crowe presented his (!) rehabilitated font "as a mark of friendship" to Mr. Forby, the Rector of Fincham, by whom it was placed in his garden, where it remained till 1842, when it was restored to its original parish, and now once more happily serves the use for which it was intended by those who wrought and placed it there some eight centuries ago.

The font is carved out of a block of Barnack stone, and is 2 ft. 5 in. square. Its most remarkable feature, as Mr. Pegge at once discovered, and which he thought mistakenly to be unique, is that its historical illustrations are not taken from Scripture, but from the agricultural and domestic life of our Saxon forefathers. The north, east, and south sides are occupied with representations of the occupations of the months of the Saxon year, there being four panels containing figures under rude semi-circular arches on each side. The west side contains four panels also, filled with trees and foliage, which show a marked affinity with the Byzantine style of ornamentation.

The names of at least six months of the year are inscribed upon the font, in their respective compartments,

Toftrees : West Side.

in good Roman capitals, about an inch in height—some of them written upwards, and others downwards, and the rest altogether omitted for want of space, the figures themselves occupying, so to say, the whole field.

I will now describe these emblematical subjects in order, commencing with the panel at the west end of the north side, and working round to that at the west end of the south side.

The names of the months expressed in capitals are copied from the font itself:—

1. JANUARIUS.—A figure, seated in a chair, with a drinking horn in his hand.[1]

2. (F)EBRUARIUS.—A figure, also seated, with his foot upon a hearth stone, warming himself. "Sitting at the door of his house"[2] is not likely for February.

3. MARTIUS.—A husbandman digging with a spade.

4. [*Aprilis.*]—A woodman with a pruning hook or hedging bill in his right hand, and a branch of a tree in his left.

5. [*Mains.*]—A figure with long hair, bearing a banner, indicating a procession or perambulation, as customary in this month. In *Archæologia* it is called "a female figure"; but long hair was worn by the men, if free and independent.[3]

6. JUNIUS.—A husbandman with a weeding tool. Not a plough.

7. JULIUS.—A husbandman mowing.

8. AU.....—A similar figure binding up a sheaf.

9. [*Septembris.*]—A husbandman threshing corn.

10. [*Octobris.*]—A vintager "pouring wine into a cask from a bladder, through a funnel."[4]

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1 "The festive board of Christmas and *New Year* was called by the Saxons *Jöl* or *Yule*, and is marked in the Runic calendar by a *horn erect*, and filled with *ale*, which is *öl*."—From *The Ormulum.*

2 Dr. Sayers, "Physician and Antiquary, of Norwich."—*Disquisitions*, 1808.

3 *The Saxon Home*, by Mr. Thrupp.

4 *Archæologia.*

11. [*Novembris.*]—A man slaughtering a pig. Suggesting ham and bacon for the winter.

12. [*Decembris.*]—A merry-making at Christmas. Only two legs under the table, which belong to the company, not to the table!

The following interesting Anglo-Saxon calendar is contained in the Cotton MS. (Julius, A 6), British Museum, and dates from the eleventh century:—

January: Ploughing and sowing.
February: Pruning.
March: Field work.
April: Feasting.
May: Tending sheep.
June: Wood-cutting.
July: Hay-making.
August: Harvesting.
September: Boar-hunting.
October: Hawking.
November: Bonfire.
December: Threshing, winnowing, and storing grain.[1]

Similar representations to those on this font are to be found at St. Evroult, Montfort, and also upon a leaden font at Brooklands, Kent; these are beautifully illustrated in an article on leaden fonts by Dr. Fryer in *The Archæological Journal*, vol. lvii. (1900). In the same publication (vol. lviii., 1901), the Rev. A. D. Hill calls attention to some carved stones which he discovered in the tower of Calverton Church, Notts, embedded as a horizontal course in the inner face of the west wall high up in the third stage; there are eight of these stones, which appear to have formed originally part of a band of ornament nine inches wide on the architrave of an arch, and were built in and thus preserved in the course of some early restoration of the church. Six of the months of the Saxon year are here represented.

There are several similar figures on some circular stones in the pavement of the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Canterbury Cathedral, and in the Norman porch of St. Margaret's, York.

The *frieze* round the top of the font is ornamented with foliage and lions, also, like the west side, quite in

[1] This calendar is drawn and described in Traill's *Social England* (illustrated edition), vol. i., pp. 179-181.

Burnham Deepdale : North Side.

Sculthorpe : West and South Sides.

the Byzantine style; and, further, there are rusty traces of hinges and fastenings for a lid, which was locked down for fear of sorcery. "Fontes baptismales sub serâ clausi teneantur propter sortilegia."

The ancient font in St. Martin's Church, Fincham, belonged originally to St. Michael's. It was brought here on the destruction of that church in 1744. It has been called a parallel to that at Deepdale. It is perhaps not quite so old, and differs from it chiefly in having the subjects of its bas-reliefs taken from Scripture history. Blomefield's description of it (transferred to *Archæologia*, vol. x., p. 190) is very poor and incorrect, but it was then under whitewash and daub.[1] The font stands on five slender modern pillars. It is 2 ft. 7 in. square. Its four sides, externally bordered with a cross-moulding, consist each of three compartments under Saxon circular arches, exhibiting a series of sacred historical subjects. On the *north* side are figures of Adam and Eve, rude enough, with the tree of knowledge between them, representing the fall. On the *east* are the Magi, each bearing an offering in his right hand. On the *south*, the first portion contains a manger, with an infant beneath two heads of cattle, and a star over them, shewing the birth of Christ at Bethlehem. The other two portions of this side contain figures of the Virgin and Joseph. On the *west* is, first, John the Baptist, pointing to our Saviour in the next division, coming up out of a pool within stone work, the dove descending upon him. The last of all is the figure of a bishop with a crozier.[2]

Our survey of this remarkable group of fonts being now complete, we may endeavour to answer the question: Whence did the Norman artists derive their beautiful

1 The "dauber's bill," in 1766, was 12s. (*Old Parish Book*). British Museum, Additional MSS., 23,030 (Dawson Turner), contains also an account of it.

2 *Historical Notices and Records of the Village and Parish of Fincham, in the County of Norfolk*, by the Rev. William Blyth, M.A., Rector, 1863.

patterns, and whence came the grotesque animal and human heads? The question of the human figures stands on a different footing altogether, and may be very briefly dismissed. The answer to our question, though it may cause us to traverse comparatively familiar ground, yet leads us into the subject of the origins of art, and the relations of the peoples of Western Europe to each other and to the East during the historic period from the Mycenæan Age downwards.[1] The Normans were not an isolated people; they had entered France, bringing with them their Scandinavian proclivities, and when they came to England, they came to a people with an elaborate art of their own—chiefly displayed in the ornamenting of manuscripts, and itself derived from the Celtic art of Ireland, which in its turn was derived from a combination of the Byzantine art of the later Christianized Empire with the *motifs* of their own late-Celtic art of Pagan times.

The patterns that can be derived from line and circle and spiral artfully combined are after all limited in number, and the exercise of human ingenuity, and the progress of art, is shown in the ever-varying details of their combination and arrangement.

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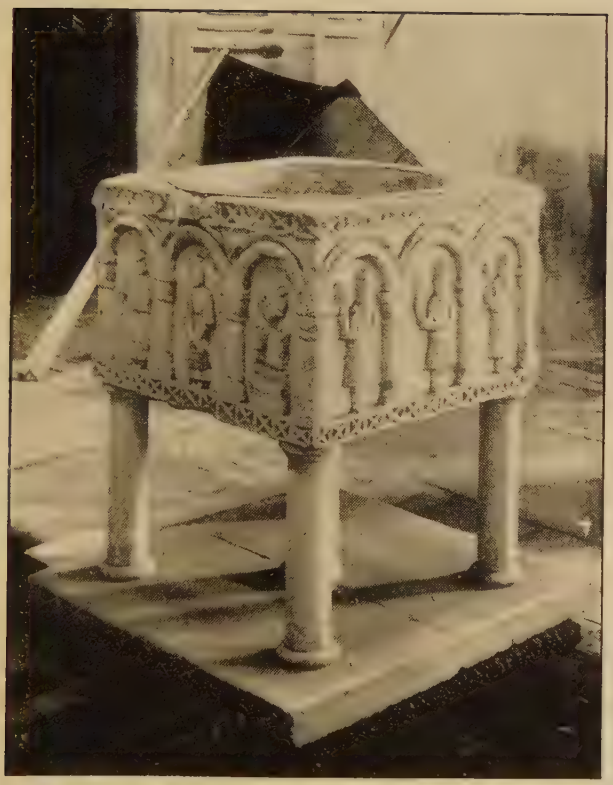
1 It would take us too far to go into the subject of *prehistoric* art, for which we would refer our readers to Dr. Hoernes' monumental work, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, and to Dr. Montelius' *Die Älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa;* but it may be remarked in passing that ornamentation consisting of circles, with or without central dots or cups (cup and ring markings) and spirals, is already found in the Neolithic Age, in all parts of the world, and has been practised by every race in that stage of culture at whatever period—whether it be on rocks or dolmens or sacred stones in Scotland, or Brittany, or Africa, or the Islands of the Pacific, or Australia—while the spiral became the characteristic ornament of the Bronze Age, appearing on the great stones at New Grange in Ireland, combined with the fern-leaf pattern, and with zigzags, lozenges, and the chevron ornament. This latter, as another characteristic of Bronze Age art, was fully discussed, particularly as it appears, in every variety of detail, on the pottery of that age, by the late Mr. Romilly Allen in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1902, part ii., and nothing can be added to what is there said. The spiral ornament reappears on the metal work of the late-Celtic Age, and so passes to the Christian Celtic art of Ireland, appearing in highest perfection in the MSS. mentioned later on.



FINCHAM : SOUTH AND EAST SIDES.

Those who have followed the wonderful discoveries of Dr. Schliemann at Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, and of Dr. A. Evans in Crete, will remember the variety of patterns which were found in the ornamentation of the walls of the palaces at Mycenæ and Tiryns, and of the Minoan palace at Knossos; while the elaborate ceiling at the latter palace, composed of an endless series of spirals, in its stately beauty seems almost, at that early date and, till lately, mythic period, to have reached a perfection unsurpassable by any future age.[1]

Mr. D. C. Hogarth says:—

"On Knossian walls and ceilings there was much decoration of a purely geometrical character, wherein spiral motives attained great perfection. High up on the south wall is hung the finest of these wall-patterns—one that would be most welcome in a stately modern room. It seems that very many centuries ago our islands indirectly derived their first knowledge of spiral decoration from its use in the Ægean. For it has been shown how gean art motives passed up to Northern Europe by the great Baltic trade route which the Southern taste for amber had called into being. From Scandinavia and Denmark they reached Ireland, and from Ireland England, to meet there similar traditions carried by Western Celts along other routes from the same original source. The spirals, therefore, on the Saxon font at Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury, are descended in lineal succession from spirals on the wall of Knossos."[2]

Dr. Schliemann, when he wrote *Tiryns*, derived the spiral from Phœnicia, as its place of origin; later research, as noted before, shows that it was generally diffused in the Bronze Age.

The classic art of Greece and Rome followed a different line, though designs in which the cable pattern is to be seen, with borders of intersecting lines, known as the guilloche pattern, abound in the mosaic pavements of

1 Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pp. 106, 110-112, 296-302, plates v.-xi., and *Mycenæ*, pp. 82, 99, *et passim*, plates viii., xv., xxi.; *cf. Troja*, p. 216; and *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. x., third series, No. 4, 1902.

2 From an article on "The Cretan Exhibition," in the *Cornhill Magazine*, March, 1903, pp. 327, 328.

Roman buildings.[1] (Morgan's *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements.*)

But the *motifs* of Mycenæan art reappear in the art of the late-Celtic Age, and are to be found on the metal ornaments of Halstatt, and the gold torques, breastplates, *myns*, and other ornaments discovered in Wales and Ireland, and other Celtic localities. These reached their highest development in the early Christian art of Ireland, and may be seen on the crosses of Kells and Monasterboice, and Cong; the splendid chalice of Ardagh; the brooches of Ardagh and Tara; and, among manuscripts, in the books of Armagh and Kells. The principal characteristic of these is the returning spiral, which reminds us of the Minoan palace in Crete, and is also found on the Saxon font at Deerhurst and elsewhere.[2]

This art crossed the sea, and met, in England, another wave of similar designs, of Scandinavian origin, which are to be seen on the runic crosses of Cumberland and Iona, and on the Saxon cross of Acca, from Hexham

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1 In his book on *Celtic Art* in the series of "The Antiquary's Books," the late Mr. Romilly Allen was inclined to derive the interlaced cable pattern in Norman ornament and in the Christianized art of Ireland from the guilloche pattern in Roman mosaics. His views, however, were not quite fixed, for on page 142 I find the following remarks:—"Any plaited fabric might have suggested the idea of interlaced work to the Celtic designer, but the fact remains that the plait was not used by him for purposes of decoration until after the introduction of Christianity into this country, indicating that it must have come in with the new religion from some external source; for if it had not done so, there is no reason why it should not be found on the metal work of the Pagan period in combination with the divergent spiral." And he continues:—"The earliest copies of the Gospel brought into Great Britain by the first Christian missionaries were no doubt of Eastern origin, and similar to the Greek codices of the fourth and fifth centuries, some of which are still in existence." Also, on p. 371, Mr. Romilly Allen says: "'Late-Celtic' ornament appears to be a local development of Italo-Greek foliageous scroll work, resulting from the Gaulish tribes coming into contact with classical civilization during the two or three centuries preceding the Christian Era." There is nothing here about the "guilloche"; and I am persuaded that both this and all interlaced work comes down from prehistoric times, and is derived as much from Scandinavia as from early Mediterranean art.

2 See *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (Margaret Stokes), part ii., new series, cap. i.—Sculpture.

(now in the Durham Museum), in combination with all kinds of grotesque monsters—a feature which is peculiarly Scandinavian. It is also to be seen in the manuscript of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The interlacing cable pattern is also Scandinavian, as may be seen on the beautiful "Thor's Hammer" ornament in silver, figured in *Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times* (Montelius), p. 202. On the cross at Gosforth, in Cumberland, appear stories from the Edda, and this so-called "Viking" art is distinguished by an absence of the classical scroll work, by peculiar forms of interlacing, and by the characteristic dragon monsters. These also appear on the font at Bridekirk.[1]

The influence of the Italian missionaries in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England is seen in the bands of conventional foliage on the crosses and MSS. of this period, and these reappear in Norman work, and are found on the fonts at Shernborne, Toftrees, Sculthorpe, and Burnham Deepdale. The characteristics of that work are interlaced patterns and bands of conventional foliage, and these, combined with representations of the human figure and simple scenes in relief, are precisely the features of the English crosses. The earliest is that at Bewcastle, Cumberland, before 670. The interlacing vine scrolls on Acca's cross at Durham are designed with even greater decorative skill than are the earlier examples, and prove that the school which Wilfrith's Italian sculptors founded at Hexham rivalled and even surpassed its masters. A very interesting specimen of late Anglo-Saxon art, showing the derivation from Italy, is to be seen in the South Kensington Museum, in the shape of an ivory carving representing the Adoration of the Magi.[2] This art is sometimes called Anglo-Saxon; but this is a misnomer, and it should be more correctly denominated Anglo-Celtic,

1 Barnard's *Companion to English History*, p. 331.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 330, 331, 334; *cf. Christian Art and Archæology*, Lowrie, pp. 279-288.

a term which has the advantage of denoting its origin. It was this art—already beginning to decay—which the Normans found in England, and which they combined with the designs familiar to them through their ancestral connection with Scandinavia, and their associations with the rapidly developing Romanesque art of the Continent. An example of native Norman work is to be seen in a font now in the museum at Caen, with which may be compared the mermaid font at St. Peter's, Cambridge, and another at Northampton.

Their associations with the East—for they were a roving race, and, from the seat of their kingdom in Sicily, came into close contact with the Mohammedan powers which had overrun Northern Africa and Spain, and were fast establishing themselves amid the crumbling fragments of the Byzantine Empire—brought them into connection both with Saracenic and Byzantine art. Mr. Freeman remarked on "the Saracenic grace of the Galilee at Durham," and the *motifs* of many Norman designs are purely Byzantine, acquired direct, and not through the medium of the Christianized Celtic art of Ireland.

Bloxam long ago noted the Byzantine affinities of the Norman style, though more particularly in respect of the figure sculpture. What he says may also, however, be applied to many details of the ornamentation, as may be seen by comparing that on the fonts, *e.g.*, at Toftrees and Sculthorpe, with that illustrated from the church of Montmajeur, in a French work on *L'Art Byzantine* (Bayet, p. 313).

Notwithstanding a certain rude and conventional style, both in design and execution, more or less prevalent in all Norman sculpture, a gradual progression in art may be traced, and the later designs generally evince a better knowledge of composition and execution than those of a more ancient date, and some evidently belong in style to the Byzantine School of Sculpture of that period. Illustrations of this may be seen in the tympanum of

Barton Segrave Church, Northants; the font of Darenth Church, Kent, which, under a series of eight semi-circular arches, contains figures very rudely executed, representing in one compartment baptism by total immersion; in another, David playing the harp; in a third, a sagittary regardant, shooting with a bow and arrow; in a fourth, a gryphon sejeant; in a fifth, a lion rampant; and three other curious designs. The tympana at Quennington and Hognaston also illustrate this; while of the font at Coleshill Church, Warwickshire, Mr. Bloxam says:—

"The sculptures round this font, representing our Saviour on the rood, with the Blessed Virgin and St. John in one compartment, and the four Evangelists in their human form in others, remind us of the Byzantine School, to which they closely approximate.

The fonts at Burnham Deepdale and Fincham, and more particularly Sculthorpe, might also have been adduced as showing, especially the latter, distinct traces of the influence of the same style, both in the figure sculpture and the ornamentation.[1]

The study of this remarkable group of Norman fonts shows that in the variety of ornamental designs, which they display, they bear the unmistakable evidence of their origin, and they are, therefore, not only interesting in themselves, but still more so because upon them may be read the history of the progress and development of the art of linear ornamentation; while the animal figures and grotesque monsters, which may be seen in greater abundance upon those Norman tympana which have been so fully described by Mr. C. E. Keyser in his recent book on the subject, and by Dr. Brushfield in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, mark the strong strain of Scandinavian feeling, which remained a potent influence on Norman artists even after so many years of contact with the Christian civilization of the Continent.

1 See Bloxam, *Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, i., pp. 128-130. For further discussion of this subject see a Paper by the author, entitled "Scandinavian *Motifs* in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation," published in the Saga book of the Viking Club, 1904.

The question remains as to the fonts at Burnham Deepdale and Fincham. Are these Saxon, or are they Norman, like the rest? As we have seen, the figures at Burnham Deepdale bear a strong resemblance to those which represent the months of the year in the Anglo-Saxon calendar contained in the Cotton MS. (Julius, A 6), and others. But at the same time, there are marked differences. No doubt the figures on the Burnham font represent the occupations of the Saxon year, but a comparison of them with those on the Sculthorpe font (where the figures are combined with geometrical ornamentation), and with those at Fincham, together with those curious and interesting relics, which Mr. Hill has described, in the church at Calverton, Notts, and which he assigns to a Norman date, leads us to the conclusion that Dr. Pegge was right when he declared that the Burnham font was post-Conquest. For many years after the Conquest work of this kind would of a surety be performed by Saxon masons, and the rudeness of the figures on the Fincham and Burnham fonts would point to this being so in their case; but, as regards the period of their execution, they are all to be accounted as being correctly assigned to the Norman period, and the influence of Scandinavian and Byzantine, and even prehistoric, art may be clearly traced upon them.

NORFOLK CHANCEL SCREENS AND ROOD-LOFTS

By the Rev. G. W. Minns, LL.B., F.S.A.

MORE than forty years ago the writer of the present article directed the attention of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society to the valuable treasures of mediæval art and antiquarian interest afforded by the rood-screens existing in Norfolk, where specimens of decorated wood-work may still be found in greater number than any other county affords.[1]

Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A., in his *List of Buildings of Great Britain having Painted Decorations*, enumerates one hundred and sixty-two churches in Norfolk containing screens. Some of these are lost to us, but it is estimated that more than eighty examples still remain. The absence of native stone probably suggested the employment of other means for the display of piety in the adornment of the churches, and the intimate relations of Norfolk with the Low Countries doubtless influenced religious art in the county. It was also owing to local circumstances, the county lying somewhat out of the way, that iconoclastic reform was restrained, and to this we may ascribe the preservation of so many screens.

It has been usual to seek the origin of the rood-screen in the "*ambo*" of the early church. The "*ambo*," as

1 This resulted in the publication by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society of the *Randworth* Screen, with letterpress by the writer, in 1867, which was followed by that of *Barton Turf*, edited by the Rev. J. Gunn, 1869; and *Fritton*, 1872, by the Rev. R. Hart.

explained by Ducange, "*Pulpitum, tribunal Ecclesiæ ad quod gradibus ascenditur*," consisted of an elevated desk, of which there were two placed at the lower end of the choir, between it and the people, that on the north side used for reading the Gospel, and the one on the south for the Epistle. The low screen, of which the "*ambo*" formed a part, as at San. Clemente at Rome, differed much both in purpose and character from the lofty enclosures of wood, which we are about to consider. In the churches of France it appears to have been the custom to chant the Epistle and Gospel from some such elevated erection. The deacon, who performed the office, first demanded the blessing of the officiating priest in the words "*Jube domine benedicere*," hence the name *Jubé* which the French apply to this erection.[1] With us the rood-loft and its adjuncts were variously called "sollar," "holy loft," "candle beam," "perk," having panels or "panes" below, with the crucifix or "patible" above. These terms are of frequent occurrence in Norfolk wills. Thus—

1422.—John Crysping to the Church at Happisburgh, "It ad factur novi *solarii* vocat *rod loft* XL. s."

1555.—"Received for the *holy looft* lightes, 33s. 4d."—*Accounts of St. Helen's, Abingdon, Archæologia*, vol. i., 12.

1531.—"To the gilding of the new *candil beem*."—Will of Wm. Kay, of Garboldisham.

"Itm volo quod unum le pane de pulpito vulgariter vocat *le perk* de meis bonis ppis expensis bene et fideliter pingatur."—Will of William Tegg, of Marsham.

1487.—Margaret Stannow widow "to the sustentacion of the lyght brening before the *patyble* upon the *perk* XIIs."

For the information of those unacquainted with the arrangement of our parish churches, it may be necessary to mention that the rood-screen occupied a position at the entrance of the choir, the upper part supported on a beam, which carried a loft or gallery extending across

1 "S'il faut aller chanter l'Evangile au Jubé après que le célébrant a dit l'Evangile, il faut bénir l'encens . . . et le diacre lui demande Jube Domine benedicere."—*Cérémonial pour le Diocèse de Bayeux*, 1677.

the chancel arch, and separating it from the nave. Access to this loft was by a spiral staircase or "vise,"[1] the steps of which wound round a perpendicular shaft or newel. This staircase was sometimes included in the thickness of the wall, or in a turret on the north or south side, sometimes approached by a door from the outside. Occasionally there were two staircases leading to the rood-loft above, and in many instances the rood staircase may be seen where the screen has entirely disappeared.

At St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, the chancel was formerly separated by a rood-screen surmounted by a loft, reached by a circular "vise," or screw staircase, on either side. The pulley, from which was suspended the light which burned before the rood or "patible,"[2] may still be seen in the roof, as also at St. Stephen's, Norwich. See *Inventories of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich*, by Mr. St. John Hope, Norfolk Archæol. xi., 155.

The lower part of the screen was constructed with panels, surmounted by an arcade having a central arch furnished with doors, which remain at Knapton and elsewhere. From the mullions forming the divisions of the arcade sprang the overhanging fan vaulting, which supported a moulded beam, on which rested the loft, with a parapet on either side. This parapet is rare, but exists on the west side of the screen at Sheringham. On the side of the screen towards the nave was fixed the rood[3] or crucifix, with the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John on either side. The rood was, however, in some cases, placed on a rood beam high above the loft, as at

1 Vise, Vice, Vys (Fr. *Vis*=a screw, *Escalier à vis*). Et fiet unum ascensorium vocatum vys.—*Cont. for Durham Dormitorium*, 1401; *Hist. Dunelm, Script. Tres.*, clxxxviii.

2 Patible, from Lat. *pati*, "to suffer," not found in the Catholicon, Levin's Manipulus, or Halliwell; used for a gibbet or other instrument of execution, *sc. crux*.

3 Rood or Rod (A. S.), like *perk*, lit. a pole, especially applied to the large cross, accompanied by the figures of B. V. Mary and St. John Evangelist, over the entrance of the chancel. Occasionally churches were dedicated to the Holy Rood, as at Southampton.

Tunstead. The panels below were decorated with figures of saints or persons not canonized but held in reverence, as King Henry VI. at Barton Turf; occasionally, figures of donors to the work, as at Fritton, the whole exhibiting a grand effect of colour and gilding, while the rood above prominently proclaimed the Person of the Redeemer, often accompanied by the following inscription:—

> "Effigiem Christi quum transis pronus honora:
> Non tamen effigiem, sed quem designat, adora."[1]

The saints most usually represented are the Apostles —St. Peter occupying the panel next to the north of the doors, with St. Paul on the south. At Trunch, each Apostle bears a sentence of the Creed. The nine orders of angels are found at Barton Turf, the Prophets at Thornham, each holding a label inscribed with a text from their prophecies in the Vulgate version, which in several cases are wrongly assigned. A singular figure on this screen is that of Lazarus, with the inscription "*Propter me multi crediderunt in Jesum.*" The four Latin Fathers—the Royal Saints, St. Edward, K.M., St. Edmund, K.M., St. Edward, K.C., are of frequent occurrence, together with founders of religious orders—St. Benedict at Burlingham, St. Andrew and St. Francis at Hempstead. Besides these, the patrons of trades—St. Blasius, of woolcombers, St. Eligius, of blacksmiths and farriers. Of those whose invocation was popular, St. Catherine, St. Apollonia, St. Roch, together with the patrons of donors, as "*Joannis Blake et Cecilie uxoris suae*," as at North Burlingham, where the figures of St. John and St. Cecilia are found. Figures of especial rarity are St. John of Bridlington, C., at Hempstead; St. Jeron, the priest warrior, at Suffield. Antipathy to papal claims was especially shown by the general effacement of St. Peter,

1 Thus rendered in Mason and Neale's *Durandus' Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, p. 43, ed. 1893:—

> "What time thou passest by the rood bow humbly evermore;
> Yet not the rood, but Him Which there was crucified, adore."

and the figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury—the latter rare, but an example exists at North Burlingham. Here also is found St. Withburga, with a church in her hand inscribed, "*Ecclesia de Estderham.*"[1] At Gately is the quaint figure of "*Master John Schorn*" (*circa* 1480), conjuring the devil out of a boot. He was renowned for the cure of ague, and drew thousands to his well at North Marston, Bucks. Of local saints, St. William of Norwich, M., a child, according to tradition crucified by the Jews in the reign of King Stephen, is found at Worstead and Loddon; St. Walstan, patron of husbandmen, at Ludham and elsewhere. His shrine was at Babur (Bawburgh). Of him the late Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, Chaplain at Cossey, wrote a memoir, and it was in the field of observation afforded by the rood-screens of Norfolk that that learned and amiable student of hagiology found much material for his *Emblems of Saints*.[2]

ST. WILLIAM OF NORWICH, FORMERLY AT ST. JOHN'S, MADDERMARKET, NORWICH.

The purpose of the rood-screen has been variously

1 Her father, Anna, King of the East Angles, founded a Benedictine nunnery at East Dereham, of which his youngest daughter, Withburga, became abbess.

2 *Emblems of Saints*, by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, D.D. Third edition, published by Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, 1882.

assigned; originally one great object was doubtless *mystical*, to mark the distinction between the chancel or sanctuary, that portion of the church where the most solemn service was enacted, and the nave assigned to the worshippers.[1] Later the Gospel and Epistle were read from the top of the screen, and subsequently more ordinary reasons prevailed. That the rood-loft was used solely or chiefly to provide an elevation from which the Gospel should be sung cannot be maintained. In cathedral and collegiate churches this was doubtless done from the "*pulpitum*"—the term applied to the solid erection of stone at the entrance of the choir, such as exists between the second bay of the nave in Norwich Cathedral, the lower part of which is ancient, the work of Bishop Lyhart (Le Hert, 1446-1472). On either side of the central door were altars dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. William. In parish churches, on great occasions, the rood-loft may have been used for a similar purpose, but, remembering the attendant ceremonial,[2] it would have been impossible for the officiants, with their prescribed accompaniments, to have ascended the narrow stairway to the loft.

That the rood-loft was in frequent use, and on more ordinary occasions, is proved by the well-worn condition of the steps leading thereto. The loft would serve many requirements—for giving access to the lights on the candle beam, the lighting of the great Paschal or Easter candle and other ceremonial occasions, the reading of

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1 For the first three centuries there is no direct evidence of the separation of the choir from the nave, but after the time of Constantine (ob. 337) a veil or screen was employed. The "mystical" arrangement is prominent in the Russian and other churches of the Greek rite, where the *iconostasis*, or screen, is a solid erection, covered with sacred pictures, entirely obscuring the altar and the ceremonial except at intervals during the service, when the holy doors are opened.

2 The ceremonial is thus described:—"Le diacre demande la bénédiction au célébrant et ils vont au jubé en cet ordre. Le porte-masse, les deux porte-chandeliers, le sousdiacre de l'office tenant un coussin devant sa poitrine, un des diacres assistants tenant l'encensoir, puis le diacre tenant les livres des évangiles . . . ils montent au jubé."—*Voyage Liturgique.*

pastorals, the publication of notices, giving the blessing, etc., etc.; but a chief purpose was that of a music gallery for the organ and other instruments to accompany the clerks who sang during the Mass and other offices. From the accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, we learn that the rood-loft there contained "a pair of organs and a sete for the player," and from that place the clerks were accustomed to "syng the Passion on Palme Sunday."

Rood-screens, with their pristine arrangements, may still be seen in Brittany, a remote province little affected by change. The most remarkable are those at St. Fiacre le Faouet in Morbihan, and Lambader in Finisterre, which bear a great resemblance to our Norfolk screens, but retain the loft above, and other original features. At St. Fiacre the crucifix with images of the Blessed Virgin and St. John still exists. The two thieves are also represented. The chapel at Kerfons, also in Finisterre, and the church at Lambader, retain the spiral wooden staircase, by which the *jubé* was ascended. At the latter place, when visited by the writer, a choir lectern, with the dalmatic of the deacon and choir vestment, were to be seen in the loft above.

The date of existing screens in Norfolk cannot, we think, be placed earlier than the fourteenth century, to which period we would assign the simple but beautiful example at Edingthorpe. A dated example is at Aylsham, 1407, and frequent provision is made in Norfolk wills for the erection, sustentation, and adornment of the screen.[1] The most elaborate development is found at Randworth; regarded as the finest in the county, but certainly inferior in artistic merit to some others.

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1 1419.—"Thomas Grym of Randworth bequeathed 'Ad fabricam cancelli dictæ ecclesiæ V. marcæ.'" The paintings on the panels are later than this bequest and of the latter part of the fifteenth century.

1488.—"Robert Marsham of Stratton next Hevingham Lego ad sustentacionem luminis alti crucifixi beate Marie et Sti Johannis XX s."

1506.—"John Colyns of Hunworth to the reparacion of the parclose over the rode loft, XL s."

Here may be observed a couple of perforations in the panels on the north side, through which the high altar might be seen by a person in the nave; similar openings exist in other screens, and have been foolishly assigned to the purpose of hearing confessions. Some iron staples, apparently to carry rods for curtains to be drawn before the paintings during Lent, may also be seen at Randworth.

The Fritton screen had originally twelve panels. Of these eight remain, having paintings of the four doctors of the Church, St. Simon and St. Jude; the two northernmost are devoted to figures of the donor and his family: (1) A female figure in prayer, and behind her three daughters, also kneeling; (2) A male figure erect in civilian dress. Two scrolls inscribed "*Orate p aiabs, Johi Bac. . . . U . . ris*" are above the figures, which doubtless represent John Bacon, his wife, and family, who lived about 1510.

At Trunch the name of the donor is piously omitted. The inscription, commencing from the north side, is as follows: *Orate* (*pro animabus*) *omnium benefactorum istius operis quod factum fuit*, A.D. 1502, *quorum* (*animabus*) *propitietur Deus ita sit.* On the south, *Gloria laus honor virtus et potestas atque jubilacio graciarum accio amor indeficiens per infinita seculorum secula amen dicunt omnia.*[1]

At Cawston the rood-loft was erected about 1460, since in that year we find John Barker making a bequest of ten marks for that purpose, and in 1504 Richard Browne gave four marks to paint a panel. The inscription now thereon, according to Blomefield, commemorated "William Atereth and Alice hys wyff the weche dyde these iiii penys peynte."

Examples of post-Reformation screens are by no

[1] Illustrations of this screen will be found in Brandon's *Analysis of Gothic Architecture*, and in Blackburne's *Decorative Painting o the Middle Ages.*

SCREEN AT EDINGTHORPE,

XIV. CENTURY.

means rare. Blomefield describes one at Stradsett "neatly carved with flower pots and pilasters of the Ionic order." A Jacobean screen is at Reepham, and the old screen at Marsham was of the same period. An Elizabethan screen at Quidenham is now placed at the lower arch.

The rood-screens existing in Norfolk differ in style from those of Kent, where the early wood screens imitate the appearance of masonry, and are for the most part unadorned with gold and colours, nor are they enriched with *gesso*, a plaster material modelled to show the ornament in relief. The proportions also, low and squat, like those in the south-west country, contrast unfavourably with the lofty light and decorated examples of East Anglia. Their elegance and beauty did not, however, prevent the destruction of the rood-screens, which began in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1538 injunctions were issued ordering the removal of "all images which were superstitiously used." In 1549 the Council of Edward VI. abolished "all images" out of parish churches, whether they were abused or not. Some respite and renovation took place in the brief reign of Mary (1553-58), but on the accession of Elizabeth the injunctions against images were revived, and in the second year of her reign it was decreed "that the rood-lofts shall be so altered that the upper part of the same with the sollar be quite taken down to the upper parts of the vaults by putting some convenient crest upon the same towards the Church."[1]

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1 Machyn's *Diary* (published by Camden Soc., 1848) contains some interesting particulars of the fate of rood-screens at this period. We find, 1553 (1st Mary), December 8th, among the expenses at St. Margaret's, Westminster, connected with the restoration of Romish worship, "Item payd for the Roode, Mary and John X li.," for "payntyng the same XLs." In 1559 (2nd Elizabeth) "Payde to John Rialle for his three dayes work to take down the Roode, Mary and John iis. viiid." Further still, "Item to clevyng and sawing the Roode, Mary and John, xii. d." The same year witnessed "ii great bonfires of rodes, Marys and Johns and odur emages." In 1560 "was alle the rod-loftes taken down in London and wrytyngs wrytyn in the same place."

The destruction of the rood and its loft was now complete, but the screen was left. In some cases the arcade was entirely removed, leaving only the panels below. Hence the cut-down screens of which we have examples. Fanaticism, ignorance, destructiveness and decay in many cases completed the work of annihilation. In some instances the figures of saints were obscured and painted over. Texts are painted over the figures at Binham. At North Elmham the screen, now happily replaced, was found laid under some pews to which it served as a floor. In other cases it was removed to the west end of the church, as at Attleburgh and Wiveton. Fragments of the screen were to be seen at Stokesby in the patching of the pews. At Thurgarton the original chancel screen was sold in 1897 for the expenses of the church. Some panels of great interest compose the church chest at Denton.

The copy of Blomefield's *Norfolk*, illustrated by Mr. Dawson Turner, and now in the British Museum,[1] contains many drawings of screens. Several will be found in the *Architecture and Antiquities of Norfolk*, etched by that excellent artist J. S. Cotman, whose works, so long neglected, are at last on the way to be appreciated as they deserve. The three screens—Randworth, Barton Turf, and Fritton—published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, and illustrated by Mr. C. J. W. Winter, are worthy of all praise.

The painted effigies of saints found on our screens, their tabernacle work and moulded beams diapered and counter-changed with such marvellous effect, demand some notice of the artists and their work. On this point materials are scanty, as the historian has preferred to dwell on the stormy political struggles of the period rather than the triumphs of art, and its early progress has been left unrecorded.

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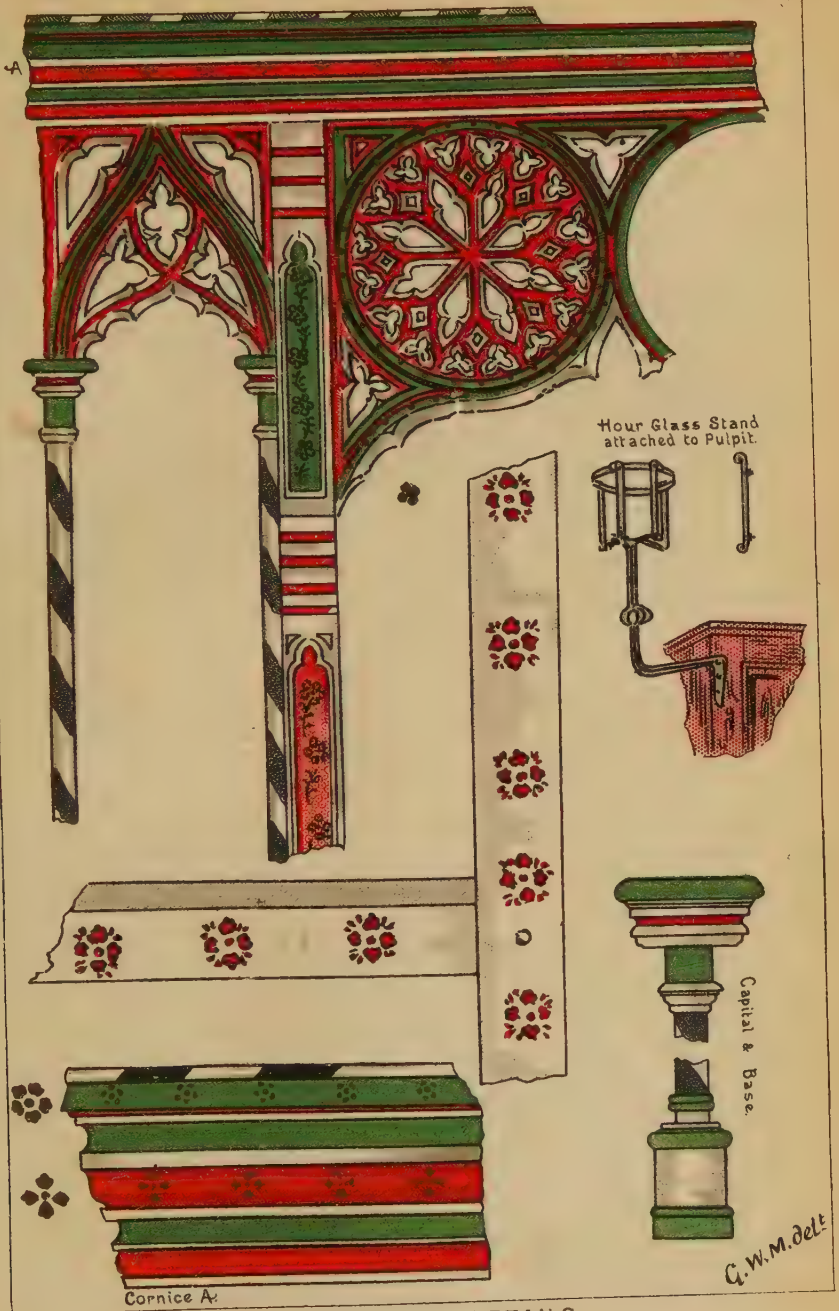
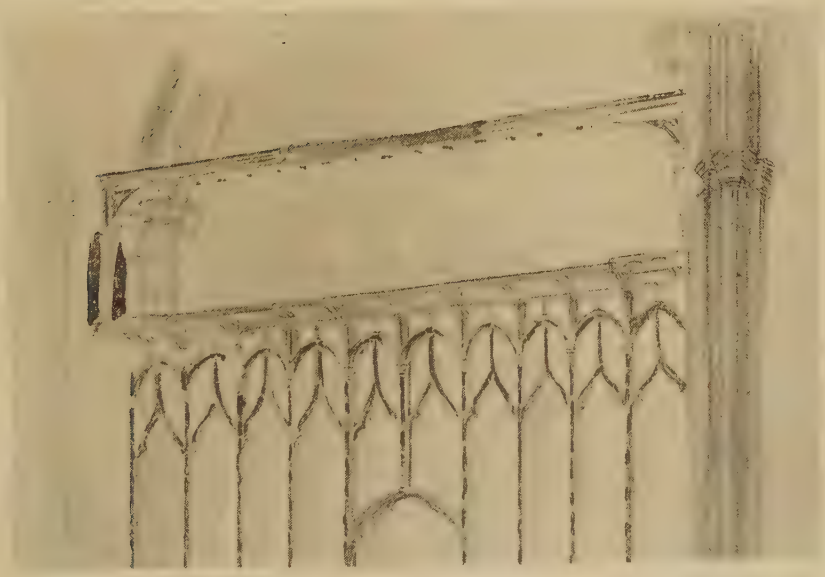
1 Plut. CLVI. D. 23024.



EDINGTHORPE – DETAILS.

Barton Turf.



Tunstead.

Ecclesiastical painting in England during the Middle Ages may owe something to Italian prelates and Churchmen, but to the Low Countries we must look for the cradle of the painter's art in East Anglia. The wool-staple had been fixed at Norwich before the close of the fourteenth century, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the great immigration of Flemings, driven from their native seats of industry by the persecution under Alva, led to the settlement of no small number of woollen weavers in Norfolk, thus establishing industrial and artistic relations between the two countries.

Those who have looked upon the works of the Brothers Van Eyck, of Hans Memlinc, Lucas Van Leyden, and early painters of the Flemish School, cannot fail to recognise the likeness of treatment in the panels on our screens. The commercial relations of England and Norfolk especially, with the Low Countries, naturally influenced local art, and in process of time Norfolk appears to have established a school of her own. At an early period the names of "William of Norwich"[1] and "Thomas of Yarmouth" are recorded in connection with works of this kind.

From the rolls of Freemen of the Corporation of Norwich we learn that as early as the fourteenth century many painters existed in Norwich, and the decorations of our screens became the work of native artists. In the 48 Ed. III. (1373) two painters, John de Frenge and John de Bradwell, were admitted to the Freedom of the City; others in the reign of Richard II., and a regular succession continued until 1 Henry VIII., when Richard Euxton, peyntor, was admitted.[2]

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1 The name of William of Norwich occurs at an early date in the sacrist rolls of Norwich Cathedral. The same accounts record, in 1404, payments for a painting of St. Petronilla 5s. 6d. For images of St. Gacian and St. John of Bridlington 26s., and painting the same 6s. 8d.—*Arch. Inst., Norwich*, vol. for 1847.

2 *Calendar of the Freemen of Norwich*, 1317-1603, by J. Le Strange, 1888.

An opinion has been expressed that our screens were painted in distemper, with water blended with white of egg or other gelatinous material. This vehicle, employed by the early Italian painters, was at an early date abandoned by the Flemish School, to whom has been attributed the invention of painting in oil. The freshness and state of preservation in damp situations after years of neglect lead to the conclusion that oil was the medium used. In treatment and the degree of skill displayed there is great variety, but the very humblest of these paintings, as has been justly observed, belongs to the history of English mediæval art.

With reference to Norfolk screens Mr. T. Rickman wrote: "The varieties are so various and some of them so beautiful, that they deserve much more careful record than they have had, for scarcely a year passes but under some pretence or other a portion of good screen work is sacrificed, and it is very seldom that care enough is taken to make it useful."[1]

Screens have suffered much from ignorant innovators and destructive restorers, but, happily, the observation of Pugin still holds true, that "there is no country in Christendom where so many screens are preserved and standing as in England." Norfolk is fortunate in possessing an unusual number of remarkable beauty. The same authority gives the following strong testimony to their interest: "If any man says he loves pointed architecture and hates screens, I do not hesitate to call him a liar."[2]

THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Edingthorpe Screen

This screen is here given as an early example, less elaborate than many others, but of singular beauty and simplicity.

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1 Rickman's Introduction to Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities.*
2 *Recollections of A. W. Pugin,* by B. Ferrey, p. 151.

Edingthorpe Details

The details show elegance of design and effective colouring. The slender columns, turned capitals and bases, are like those at Stanton Harcourt, Oxon.[1] The tracery of the arcade resembles Northfleet, Kent (*circa* 1300), but the elegant wheel spandrils indicate a later date. The six figures, commencing from the north, are St. Bartholomew, St. Andrew, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Catherine, St. James the Great.

Barton Turf Screen

This shows the general arrangement of the rood-screen in Norfolk churches. Dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels, we have here appropriately represented on twelve panels the Heavenly Hierarchy (occupying nine) with St. Zita (or Sitha), St. Apollonia, and St. Barbara. The rood staircase is on the north side. On the south is the Chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, separated from the aisle by a parclose screen, of which only the lower portion remains, having on the panels St. Edmund, K.M., St. Edward Confessor, King Henry VI., and St. Olave. The date of these paintings would be subsequent to the death of Henry VI. (1471), and they are probably of the same period as Ludham, which has a figure of Henry VI., with the date 1497 carved on the screen.

Tunstead Screen

This example is interesting, as showing the joists of the solar or loft with the rood beam at a higher elevation above. The latter now blocks the doorway of the rood stairs, and must, therefore, have been lowered. The middle of the beam, where the rood was fixed, is defaced by its removal.

Panels from various Screens

Fig. 1, St. Catherine (sword and wheel); fig. 2, St. Apollonia (tooth held in pincers), from the screen at

1 *Vide Parker's Glossary of Architecture.*

Lessingham, where these panels with two others (St. Margaret and St. Barbara) formed the doors of the screen, of which the lower part only remains, and presents points of especial interest.

The figures at Lessingham were originally the twelve Apostles, but on five of the panels the four Latin Fathers and St. Roch are painted on paper and stuck over the earlier figures, which, however, they do not entirely obscure. We have now, commencing from the north side, (1) St. Roch, (2) St. Matthew or St. Matthias, (3) St. Simon, (4) St. James the Great, (5) St. Andrew, (6) probably St. Peter, but St. Jerome is fixed over him. The panels of the doors, on which were the four Virgin Saints above noted, were suffered to lie about the church—one retained the hinges and lock. On the south side we have (1) St. Gregory, (2) St. Augustine, (3) St. Ambrose, (4) St. Philip, (5) St. Jude, (6) St. James the Less. It has been conjectured that the figures of the Apostles having been much mutilated at the Reformation, the substituted figures were by way of restoration in the reign of Queen Mary, but the work was left incomplete. St. Roch, as the protector against pestilence, may have been chosen in consequence of the frightful mortality in Norfolk in the summer of 1555, which excited anew the *cultus* of this saint. Much *gesso*[1] is here employed in the relief decoration, and indicates work of a late date.

Figs. 3 and 4, St. John of Bridlington and St. Giles, are from the Hempstead screen. The former (represented with a fish and cross staff) is probably unique. St. John of Bridlington, or Burlington, Yorks., was Prior of the monastery of the Austin Canons in that place, and after

1 This material is a kind of red plaster (It., *gesso*) applied in a soft condition, stamped, and gilded. It was chiefly employed for the nimbus and the background of figures, the mullions and flat surfaces of the screen.

HEMPSTEAD: ST. JULIANA, V.M. PANEL SAWN ASUNDER, AND FORMING SIDE OF PRAYER DESK. ST. EDWARD CONFESSOR ON DOOR.

his death (1379) was regarded as a saint, although not formally canonised. St. Giles is represented with a hound at his feet.

The panel paintings on the screen at Hempstead are remarkable. Eight on the south side remain *in situ*—(1) St. George, (2) St. Erasmus, (3) St. Stephen, (4) St. Laurence, (5) St. Blaize, (6) St. Francis of Assisi, (7) St. Leonard, (8) St. Eligius. The panels on the north have been entirely cleared away, and were made up into a reading desk; the door composed of panels with the figures of St. Edward Confessor, and St. Edmund, K.M., while St. Juliana, sawn asunder, supported the sloping book board. She is represented scourging the devil, held by a rope at her feet—*vide* illustration. St. Theobald, St. Denys, St. John of Bridlington, and St. Giles, formed the front. Two other panels representing female saints, St. Helena and another whose name begins with A (? St. Agnes or St. Agatha), placed upside down, completed this hideous erection and work of mutilation.[1]

Fig. 5.—An Angel, from Barton Turf, last of the orders of the Heavenly Hierarchy there represented, and described in the illustrations of this screen, published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. An alms-box is attached to his girdle, and two naked figures (the conventional representation of souls) are kneeling on his left side. He bears a spear for the defence of his charge.

St. William of Norwich

The illustration in the text is from a panel formerly at St. John's, Maddermarket, and now in the South Kensington Museum. He is represented in a cloak fastened at the neck over a long tunic; three nails, the

1 This describes the arrangement as seen by the writer some years ago. The present Rector, the Rev. W. M. McAllister, has kindly supplied some particulars, and writes: "The reading-desk, that relic of barbarism, is gone, but I have the panels carefully stowed away against the time when I can get the screen restored."

instruments of his crucifixion, are on his head, a sign of glory. In his right hand he holds three nails, and a hammer in his left. Above is a merchant mark, probably the device of the donor. The martyrdom is represented with full and horrible details on the screen at Loddon. *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, by Thomas of Monmouth, edited by Dr. Jessopp and Dr. M. R. James, 1896, is an exhaustive history of the saint and the popular mediæval myth of Jewish ritual murders.

PANELS FROM VARIOUS SCREENS.

CURIOUS CHURCH DEDICATIONS IN NORFOLK; AND SOME ROOD SCREEN FIGURES

By James Hooper

AS is very generally known, it has been the sane and sensible practice of the Christian Church to endeavour, as far as possible, to adapt, under new forms suitable to the genius of Christianity, heathen usages and ceremonies. When Gregory the Great (590-604) commissioned Augustine to bring the faith into Britain, the missioner, as Fuller says:

"found here a plain religion (simplicity is the badge of antiquity) practised by the Britons; living, some of them, in the contempt, and many more in the ignorance, of worldly vanities. He brought in a religion spun with a coarser thread, though guarded with a finer trimming; made luscious to the senses with pleasing ceremonies, so that many who could not judge of the goodness were courted with the gaudiness thereof."

A little later we find Gregory writing to Mellitus warning him not to irritate the British idolaters by rash iconoclasm. For, said the wise Pontiff:

"fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, quæ in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur: quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequia veri Dei debeant commutari. . . . Et quia boves solent in sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua solemnitas immutari: ut die dedicationis, vel natalicii sanctorum martyrum quorum illic reliquiæ ponuntur . . . religiosis conviviis celebrant."[1]

Here, then, was the origin of the English wakes or festivals to celebrate the benedictory dedications of

1 Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum Historiale*, Lib. ii., cap. 9.

churches, though it must be borne in mind that the patronal festival differs from the feast of dedication. The feast of All Saints was originally the anniversary of the dedication of the Pantheon to Christian worship, under the title of "Sancta Maria ad Martyres"—13th May, 607 or 608. Gregory III. transferred the anniversary to 1st November in the earlier half of the eighth century. The choice of patron saints for our earlier churches depended upon a variety of circumstances, as when Edward the Confessor's religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to St. Peter, and the house of Cerdic entertained affectionate reverence for St. Margaret of Antioch. Miracle plays sometimes created enthusiasm for certain saints, such as that famous play, "The Death of St. Katharine," acted by the monks of Dunstable in the eleventh century; and Archbishop Langham, in the fourteenth century, paid particular reverence to that apocryphal saint, whose original was no other than the Pagan martyr, Hypatia of Alexandria, according to Mrs. Jameson.

As mediæval ecclesiastics found religion in the choruses of ancient Greek tragedy, they imitated them in Christian hymns, and as they found that the Pagan Saturnalia appealed to an ineradicable tendency in human nature, they founded "Feasts of Fools," and even a *Festum Asinorum*, which at Lincoln greatly angered Bishop Grostête. This purported to be in honour of Christ's entry into Jerusalem; the ass was caparisoned in sacerdotal raiment, and an Ass's Litany was chanted in Latin. One verse, translated, runs:—

"Lo, with what enormous ears
This subjugal son appears,
Most egregious ass, we see
Lord of asses all in thee.

"Huzza, Sir Ass, because you chant,
Fair mouth because you bray,
You shall have enough of hay,
And also oats to plant."

In treating of early dedications, it must be remembered that until the tenth century saints were canonized by consent of the local church, for Pope John XV. (985-996) was the first to prescribe rules for ceremonial beatification or canonization. This explains the huge multitude of saints, whose names fill many a bulky tome. Inconceivable as it appears, Usher enumerates 230 Irish saints named Colman! Besides the numerous absolutely apocryphal saints, more than one pagan deity was enrolled among the provincial saints. Also, elemental powers of earth, air, fire, and water reappeared as mythical kings or saints; for, as Mr. Elton has pointed out—

"the names and attributes of mythological beings appear in the pedigrees of the 'holy tribes' of Wales and in the romance of Irish hagiology. Heathen rites were preserved under Christian names; and the older religion survived in the dedication feasts, the January fires, the May games, and the Midsummer fairs, the garlands set by the fountains, and the sacrifices made at favourite shrines to avert sterility or to procure good fortune in marriage."

Could we clearly trace the Gaulish homes of some of the earliest settlers from France, we should doubtless be able in many cases to decide why the cult of some little-known French saint came to be evidenced in the more uncommon Church dedications of England. As time went on, dates of original dedications were lost, and such confusion ensued that in 1536 Convocation made a decree, confirmed by Henry VIII.—

"that the feest of dedicacyon of the church shall in all places and throughout this realm be celebrated and kept on the fyrst Sunday of the moneth of Octobre for ever and upon none other day."

The "for ever" of the dead hand has not, of course, secured sempiternity; and, says Wheatly—

"as to the wakes which are still observed in many country villages, generally upon the next Sunday that follows the saint's day whose name the church bears, I take them to be the remains of the old church holidays, which were feasts kept in memory of the saints to whose honour the churches were dedicated, and who were therefore called the patrons of the churches."

In Norfolk the most common dedications are to the Virgin Mary, over 150; All Saints, 120; St. Andrew, 73; St. Peter, 65; SS. Peter and Paul, 22; St. Margaret, 41; St. Michael, 30.

Dealing with the more unusual dedications alphabetically, we will now give some account of them:—

Agnes (21st January).—The church at Cawston has this dedication, the only one in Norfolk, though St. Agnes was held next in honour to the Virgin Mary. In her emblems she has a lamb in hand or at her feet. Everyone is familiar with Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes*, and how—

> "Upon St. Agnes' Eve,
> Young virgins might have visions of delight."

Though in the fourteenth century a third of the women were named either Agnes or Alice, the former is now in some places regarded as unlucky, and there is a saying:

> "Agneses always go mad."

Cecilia (22nd November).—West Bilney, in Norfolk, is one of the only two churches in England named in honour of this saint, who is said to have invented the organ:

> "Rapt Cecilia, seraph-haunted Queen of Harmony."

Cuthbert (20th March).—A church at Thetford, and a new church at Sprowston, adjoining Norwich, commemorate this saint. He has been called the St. Patrick of Great Britain; his shrine at Durham was splendid. His body, like that of several other saints, was carried about from place to place to keep it from the ravaging Danes. "St. Cuthbert's beads" are referred to in *Marmion*. At St. Cuthbert's College, Worksop, a hymn in his honour is sung on the patronal festival.

Etheldreda (17th October).—One church, in Norwich, commemorates this saint, one of the four sainted daughters of Anna, King of East Anglia; she was the wife of two husbands, but "twice a widow and always a virgin." She founded a monastery

at Ely, and the cathedral there, containing her shrine, was dedicated in honour of SS. Mary, Peter, and Etheldreda in 1252. Commonly called St. Audrey, her smock was preserved at a church at Thetford dedicated to her, but now decayed, to which pilgrimages were made to get toothache and swelled throats cured.

Faith (6th October).—The churches of Gaywood, near Lynn, and Witchingham Parva have this dedication, and the saint was patron of the priory of Horsham, near Norwich, founded by Robert of Caen and his wife Sibilla, who were rescued from bandits on praying to God and the blessed martyr St. Faith. (See Vedastus.)

Felix (8th March).—The apostle of East Anglia, and first bishop at Dunwich, 631-647. Born in Burgundy, and called "the Burgundian," he sought missionary work of Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him to East Anglia. The only church in Norfolk which bears his name is that of Babingley, on the Sandringham estate; but Felixkirk, Yorks., is under his "avowe," and Kirby Ravensworth, in the same county, couples his patronage with that of St. John the Evangelist. Felix founded a school at Felixstowe, and two Flixtons in Suffolk are supposed to be named after him. The Roman Catholic see of Northampton has for one of its deaneries that of St. Felix, with its centre at Norwich; the rector of the splendid Roman Catholic church of St. John the Baptist is officially Dean of St. Felix. St. Felix died at Dunwich, and was buried there, but translated first to Soham, near Ely, and then to Ramsey.

Germanus (26th July).—Wiggenhall St. German, in the Norfolk Marshland, is the only one in the county under the invocation of this saint, sent to Britain from Gaul early in the fifth century to oppose the Pelagian heresy. In the "Alleluiah Battle" he is said to have scared the Saxon invaders by a well-contrived echo.

Gervase and Protase (18th June).—The church of Little Plumstead, near Norwich, is dedicated to these

twin brothers, early martyrs, now in a gorgeous crystal shrine in Milan, in the company of St. Ambrose, who translated their relics into his church there.

Julian (?)—Norwich. Alban Butler says this ancient church is under the patronage of St. Julian, first Bishop of Mans, third century; but Blomefield says it was Julian, king and confessor. To complete the confusion, the Rev. W. Hudson, a reliable authority, alleges that this church is dedicated to a Saxon or Danish saint.—(*How Norwich grew into Shape*, 1896, p. 27.)

Leonard (6th November).—This hermit saint, converted by St. Remigius, took to the solitary life, but his anchorite's cell developed into a monastery. The churches of Billingford, near Diss, and Mundford, near Brandon, are under his invocation. Also, there was a somewhat famous priory, just out of Norwich, founded by Bishop Herbert de Losinga, dedicated to St. Leonard. He was the special patron of prisoners and captives.

Maurice (22nd September).—Briningham Church, near Diss, is the only Norfolk church under the invocation of this soldier-saint, Captain of the Theban Legion, and because, exhorted by their leader, they would not sacrifice to the heathen gods, the whole legion of 6,600 men fell in wholesale massacre by command of Maximian, at the place now called St. Moritz.

Olaf (29th July).—Formerly there was a church in Norwich dedicated to this Norwegian king and martyr; it was known as St. Tooley's, as Tooley Street in London is so called after the church of St. Olave there. A priory of Austin Canons at Herringfleet, just over the Norfolk border, was named St. Olave's, and the spot is still known by that name

Remigius (1st October).—St. Remi, as he is known in France, frequently called the "Apostle of the Franks," was a striking figure. When the congregation at Rheims met to choose a bishop, a ray of sunshine burst through a small window, "the irradiated handsome face of the

young noble shone out on the people as though marked by God for their future pastor," and he was chosen by acclamation to be Archbishop of Rheims. Of majestic stature, eloquent, saintly, and stately, he became a great religious power, and on Christmas Day, 496, with magnificent ceremonial, he baptized Clovis, the fierce Frankish king, a result, humanly speaking, of the sweet influences of Clotilda the Queen, and of St. Vedast, who prepared him for the great rite. The canonized Clotilda was the great-grandmother of that Queen Bertha, who, as wife of Ethelbert, King of Kent, welcomed Augustine and his companions when they landed in the Isle of Thanet.

Three Norfolk churches bear the consecrated name of Remigius—Dunston and Hethersett, near Norwich, and Roydon, near Diss. There was another St. Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, but we cannot doubt that it was the saint of Rheims who is commemorated in the churches specified.

Theobald (1st July).—Born early in the eleventh century of a noble family of Champagne, he changed his rich attire for beggars' rags, and became a lowly workman, as shown by his emblems, shoemakers' tools. At Great Hautbois Church there was a famous image of this saint, and pilgrimages were made to "St. Tibbald of Hobbies."

Vedastus, or Vaast, etc. (6th February).—Specially recommended by Clovis, the Frankish king, to St. Remi, Vedast became Bishop of Arras, and also had charge of the diocese of Cambrai. He tamed a savage bear, that became his companion, and in memory of this a living bear was kept in a cage by the abbey church of St. Vaast; a bear is also figured on some of the seals of the abbey of Arras and elsewhere in representation of this saint. In the *Carmina Vedastina*, the bear often occurs as—

> "Mortifer ursus timidus recessit,
> Voce vedasti prohibentis ultra
> Terminum scriptum penetrare dirum,
> Omne per aevum."

A church of St. Vedast, at Norwich, dilapidated about 1570, is on good grounds supposed to have been founded about the year 900; the name was commemorated in the corruption "St. Faith's Lane," though recently St. Vedast Street has made amends. Vedast was commonly written Vaast, in Norwich pronounced Vaist, and the virgin martyr's name familiar in Horsham *St. Fay's* ousted the saint of Arras, just as parcels of lands at and about East Rudham belonging to St. Faith's Priory are called "The Faze." The church near the General Post Office in London is usually called St. Vedast, *alias* Foster, one of the many transformations of the name; in the *Sarum Martyrology* it emerges as St. Sawsten! Several writers have asked how the name of this saint became associated with churches in London, at Tathwell, Lincolnshire, and the lost church at Norwich. The late Canon Sparrow Simpson, who was Rector of St. Vedast in London, and wrote a very full account of the saint, points out that one Ralph d'Arras was Sheriff of London in 1276, and it is known that bodies of clergy from Arras settled in England in the twelfth century. Earlier still, one result of the Roman Conquest was an increase of the Gaulish settlements in Britain. Comminus, the Prince of Arras, took refuge from the Romans in the island which he had helped to invade, and the *Atrebates* were thenceforward established on the Upper Thames. In Suffolk, St. Vedast was figured in the church windows at Blythburgh and Long Melford, and on spandrels of the church at Earl Stonham. St. Vedast died 6th February, A.D. 540. When the Normans invaded Artois, the brethren of St. Vaast carried their saint's body to Beauvais, but after twelve years it was restored, and the Feast of the Relation of the Relics is observed at Arras annually on the 15th July.

Walstan (30th May).—Here we come to a purely local saint, son of Benedict and St. Blide. He was born at Bawburgh, some five miles from Norwich, between the years 960 and 970, and died at the adjoining village of

Taverham, 30th May, 1016. In the hagiographies it is unequivocally asserted that Walstan was nearly related to King Edmund Ironside, who died in the same year. As a lad of twelve Walstan gave up his noble patrimony, being admonished by an angel to take up the life of evangelical poverty. Having obtained his parents' blessing, he wandered off, and meeting two poverty-stricken men, divided his rich garments between them, and strode forward as a cord-girdled pilgrim. At Taverham he worked as a farmer's hind till his death, in great humility macerating his body with fasts, and giving most of his victuals to those poorer than himself. Miracles, of course, ensued, and on Friday, 27th May, 1016, an angel visitant said: "Brother Walstan, on the third day after this thou shalt peaceably depart this life to enter Paradise." Next day the saint's master, being at Norwich, heard a proclamation calling upon whoever had in his service a man named Walstan to deliver him up, under penalties, as he was the King's near kinsman. The terrified farmer, on reaching home, asked Walstan what he should do, and the saint informed his master of his foretold death, and requested the attendance of a priest. On Monday the holy man went mowing, and when his hour was come a priest entered the field to administer the Sacred Viaticum. No water was at hand for ablution, but a well sprang up at Walstan's knee as he knelt in prayer; this is now dry and overgrown. He directed that his body was to be placed in a cart to be taken by his two oxen whithersoever God should guide them, and where they finally stopped should be his burial-place. Then he prayed aloud:

"O good Jesus, grant this mercy to Thy servant, that whatever labouring man shall have any infirmity or other impediment in his body, or impelled by necessity in behalf of brute animals, shall be minded reverently to visit me, with a good will in Thy Holy Name, may not fail of his desired object; and I beseech Thee, O Lord, that brute animals may receive their former sound health."

His prayer was answered by a voice from heaven, and as he yielded up his spirit, from his mouth proceeded the semblance of a white dove. The oxen started forward with their holy burden, crossed the river Wensum, with all the followers, as though it were solid ground, and—

"for centuries the marks of the cart wheels were to be seen on the surface of the river at this spot, where local tradition pretends they can still be seen."

On a hill in the woods of Costessey the oxen paused, and a second well bubbled up, but ran dry at the end of the eighteenth century. Crossing a marshy tract, the oxen reached Bawburgh, and, on the edge of the hill whereon the church stands, there sprang up the third well, "a spring of wonderful virtue against fevers and many other infirmities for the sake of St. Walstan," says Capgrave in his *Nova Legenda Angliæ*.

R. Taylor, in *Index Monasticus*, 1821, says:—

"If after a lapse of eight centuries men have become more sceptical . . . the imaginary or medicinal virtues of S. Walstan's spring have nevertheless, in our own days, repeatedly been acknowledged by those who have there sought relief from disease."

Water from the well has been retailed in Norwich streets, belief in its efficacy is not yet extinct, and Father Ignatius went on pilgrimage to the well. St. Walstan was buried in the north chapel of Bawburgh Church, which is under his invocation and that of the Virgin Mary; but the shrine was destroyed, its treasures plundered, and the remains of the saint were burnt and scattered abroad at the general sack of churches, etc., under Henry VIII.

Alban Butler, following Bale, states that "all the mowers and husbandmen in East Anglia visited the shrine of St. Walstan once a year, also great numbers from other parts, and from beyond seas"; his aid was always sought for good harvests.

In a hymn concerning labourer saints is this verse:—

"Onward still the throng is moving,
There Blandina's victor palm;
Phocas brings his flowers immortal,
Crispin joins the gladsome psalm;
There the scythe of gentle Walstan,
There the plough of Isidore,
Faithful workers for the Master,
Resting now for evermore."

Emblems of St. Walstan, generally with a scythe and sceptre, occur in several Norfolk churches.

A *Life of St. Walstan*, by the late learned Dr. Husenbeth, of Cossey, published in 1859, is now out of print. All interested in this saint, so appropriately a son of Norfolk, pre-eminently an agricultural county, would rejoice to see the curious MS. *History of St. Walstan*, which lies *perdu* in Lambeth Palace Library, printed and published. It is written in quaint old verse. There was a chapel of St. Blide, Walstan's mother, in the south aisle of Martham Church.

Wandragesilus, or Wandrille (22nd July).—Abbot of Fontenelle, Normandy. The little church of Bixley, hard by Norwich, is dedicated to this unfamiliar saint, and pilgrimages even were made to "St. Wandrede of Byskely" in mediæval times. Mabillon, with no little hardihood, characterises the seventh century in France as *aurum vere sæculum*, and in about the first year of that century was born Wandrille, or Wando, in the Verdun district of Burgundy; he was of the stock from which sprang the Carlovingian race. As a son of one of the greater vassals, he became a member of the palatine school to receive the professional education which prepared him for the Office of Count of the Palace under Dagobert, who *malgré ses mœurs légères, aimait la compagnie des saints;* for it was, as "Ingoldsby" wrote, with his tongue in his cheek—

"In good King Dagobert's golden days,
When saints were many and sins were few,"

that there was a wonderful efflorescence of blue-blooded saints, for the writers of the epoch *ne manquent pas de signaler l'origine noble de la plupart des saints.* Obedient to parental authority, Wandrille married; but his wife being as good a Christian as himself, they agreed to unite the intimacy of marriage with a virginal life. Rich and strikingly handsome, Wandrille, high in royal favour, in 629 retired to the monastery of Montfaucon, *sous le vocable de Saint-Germain.* Later, he built a monastery on his own estate. In 648 he was ordained priest by St. Omer, and in 649 proceeded to found the great monastery of Fontenelle, in the Pays de Caux, close to the little railway station now named after him. Here he practised the greatest austerities, and gathered three hundred monks around him; but the number of contemporary saints with whom he worked, or whose deeds he emulated, is surprising indeed. He died 22nd July, 666, and was buried at Fontenelle. After several removals, his relics were translated to the Abbey of *Mons Blandinus*, now St. Peter's, Ghent; but one arm was restored to Fontenelle. There was considerable intercourse between English monks and those of Fontenelle, and we know that Offa, King of Mercia (758-796), was on friendly terms with the learned Gervold, Abbot of St. Wandrille, from 787 to 806, who was sent on several embassies to Offa by Charlemagne. An agreement between the Anglo-Norman knight, Hugh de Gournay, and the Abbey of St. Wandrille may be read in D. Gurney's *House of Gurney*, 1858, pp. 739-740. There was at Ecclesfield, Yorks., a priory which was a cell of St. Wandrille's Abbey.

Winwaloe (3rd March).—To this extraordinary saint a very ancient church in Norwich was dedicated; it was given by King Stephen to his nuns at Carrow, but was afterwards re-dedicated to St. Katharine. The depopulating pestilence of 1349 rendered it practically useless, and in 1567 what remained of it was conveyed to the

St. Giles' Hospital. In the reign of King John the Earls of Clare founded the alien priory of Winwaloe, at Wereham, near Stoke Ferry, Norfolk, as a cell to the Abbey of Mountsrol, Amiens; but early in the fourteenth century it was assigned, with its fair, to the Premonstratensian Abbey of West Dereham, near by. At the Dissolution the priory was swallowed up by the Crown, but a chapel of it remains as a solid piece of masonry. The ancient fair of St. Winwaloe, formerly attached to the priory, was in 1797 removed to Downham Market, where, as Winnall, or Winnold Fair, it still flourishes as the great horse-mart of West Norfolk. The weather being bad at that time of year, there grew up an old folk-rhyme, of which the local version generally runs:

"First come David, then come Chad,
Then come old Winnol 's if he wor mad.
White or black,
Or old house thack."

Winwaloe, the third son of Fragan and Gwen, a couple of noble Welsh people, was born in the middle of the fifth century, but driven by Saxon invaders they sought refuge in Brittany, at a place named Plou-fragan, from the father. After a time in the monastery of St. Budoc, on Isle Verte, near Brehat, Winwaloe was sent to found a monastery on the desert island of Chateaulin, which was so exposed to furious winds that the poor saint had to leave, whereupon he built a monastery on the mainland, at Landevenach, near Brest. Many wild miracles are told of this saint, as recovering his sister's eye from a goose by cutting up the bird, then replacing the eye, and putting together the pieces of the goose, which strutted triumphantly away. When his brethren feasted on boiled herbs, he rigidly restricted himself to barley bread, carefully mixed with ashes. The coast of Brittany is the seat of numberless weird legends; there the vestals of Koridwen raised the winds and waves, or calmed them, by their chants of power; also, they healed maladies

which even the Druid Ovates could not cure. It seems to the present writer that the legends of St. Winwaloe contain and continue fragmentary echoes of the wild nature-myths of the French Cornwall.

The church of Gunwalloe, near Helston, in Cornwall, close to the sea, is of very great antiquity, three sides of the tower being built in the solid rock, and it is supposed that the founder placed it under the protection of St. Winwaloe as a storm subduer. He has been called "The Norfolk Boreas."

Withberga (17th March).—One of the four daughters of the pious King Anna (see Etheldreda); lived in her childhood on one of her father's estates at Holkham, where the church is under her invocation. She founded a church and nunnery at East Dereham, under the rule of her sister, St. Audry, at Ely. She died 17th March, 743, and was buried at Dereham; but the monks of Ely carried off the relics while the townsfolk were feasting at their Guildhall in 974, and she was interred near her three royal sisters, as an inscription now over her tomb and well in East Dereham churchyard records. In 1752 St. Withberga's Well was enclosed and used as a bath.

Of the Norfolk churches under double dedications, most include the Virgin Mary, but the church at Woodbastwick is under the invocation of *SS. Fabian and Sebastian* (20th January). The former was Bishop of Rome from A.D. 236 till his martyrdom in 250. In the Roman lists he is the twenty-first pope, but comes nineteenth in most Anglican catalogues. St. Sebastian was a centurion, martyred for assisting the Christians; left for dead, after being riddled with arrows, a Christian woman preparing him for burial found him to be alive. On his recovery he threw himself in the way of Diocletian to upbraid him for his cruelties, whereupon the tyrant had him killed by clubs.

It is but right that an impartial scribe should note

that Diocletian, execrated though he has been for centuries, has found apologists. Those who wish to study the other side of his character, in a very forceful piece of historical whitewashing, should read Mason's *Persecution of Diocletian*, 1876.

Before quitting dedications it may be interesting to note that there was, anciently, a strict rule that the image of the patron saint, or "head hallow," of each church should be placed in the chancel, and in the many churches dedicated to All Saints there would be a question how the rule should be obeyed. It is very likely there were several ways of doing it, but one of them was to put up an actual image and call it that of All Hallows.[1] There was such an image at Gresford Church in Denbighshire. Apparently four Norfolk churches are dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary—Attleborough, West Barsham, Gressenhall, and Redenhall—for though the Rev. J. T. Barrett, in his *Memorials of Attleborough Church* (1848), states that it was re-dedicated to the Holy Cross, the ancient dedication appears in the *Diocesan Kalendar;* but there are examples of altered dedications.

In consequence of the multiplied church building which followed upon the incorporation of Queen Anne's Bounty in 1704, Convocation sanctioned a special office for consecrating churches and churchyards in 1711. Formal deconsecration or desecration of churches has not been common in Norfolk. Some of the church dedications in the county are perhaps a little uncertain, but there appears to be only one with no recorded dedication at all—that of Threxton, near Watton. In Devonshire there are fully a dozen old churches whose dedication saint is not known.

To *St. Godric*, a Norfolk-born saint (21st May), who wore out three suits of iron clothes (!), there is now no dedication in the county.

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1 *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii., p. 483.

Near Swaffham is a place called *Goodluck's Closes*, which so bears witness to the existence there of a chapel dedicated to *St. Guthlac*, the Hermit of Croyland (11th April); the hamlet was anciently known as Guthlac's Stow. At Marham, in the same district, there also was a chapel dedicated to St. Guthlac, with an anchorage. The Abbess Ecburh, daughter of King Eadwulf of East Anglia, considerately made this saint a present of a coffin of wood and lead, with a linen winding sheet.

Among the screens of Norfolk may be found many curious saints and holy people not actually beatified or canonized. In the Roman Church the recognised advances towards canonization are thus given: When a Christian is only in a well-grounded reputation of saint, he is called "Servant of God." When his cause is introduced in the Court of Sacred Rites, he is called "Venerable." When he is beatified, he is called "Blessed." When canonized by the Church, he is called "Saint."

Bishop Blaize (3rd February), martyred A.D. 289, was, as patron saint of woolcombers, accorded a special pageant in Norwich. One of the processions is thus described. After a band of trumpeters, 40 Argonauts on horseback, with the Emblem of the Golden Fleece, which was preceded by Hercules, Peace, Plenty, and the banner of Britannia. The trophy was borne by four men on a grand palanquin, followed by Orpheus. Next came Jason, the hero of the day, drawn by four horses in a phaeton, attended by Castor and Pollux. Then came Bishop Blaize, in episcopal costume, crowned with a curious mitre of wool, drawn in an open chariot by six horses, and attended by vergers, a band of music, the standard of the city, a chaplain, and several orators, who in every street delivered appropriate speeches composed for the occasion. Seven companies of woolcombers on foot, and five on horseback, brought up the rear, which, with the proper attendants and insignia, extended half a mile in

length, and was conducted with great order and regularity. The characters were dressed with great propriety, particularly shepherds and shepherdesses, ingeniously and fancifully embellished. For several nights the show was represented at the theatre with the greatest success, the same persons being employed. This occurred in 1783, but Bishop Blaize's pageant was revived in 1836, on laying the foundation-stone of the Norwich Yarn Factory. J. S. Cotman sketched this, and issued folio prints illustrating the event; he gave the whole profits, as he said, "in pure regard of the children of the industrious poor of my native city."

We must sadly record that this highly popular ceremonial was too often associated with the cult of Bacchus, whence the phrase, "Drunk as Blazes." Besides being patron of woolcombers, St. Blaize was specially invoked for the cure of sore throats.

Bale, in one of his denunciations of saint-worship, or invocation, mentions, amongst other saintly helpers and their emblems, etc., St. Uncumber's oats, Master John Shorne's boot, St. Apolline for the toothache, St. Walstone (*sic.*) for good harvest.

St. Appolonia (9th February) appears at Barton Turf, Lessingham, and Ludham, and was formerly on the screen in St. John, Maddermarket, Norwich.

St. Uncumber (20th July), generally called Wilgefortis, but also Liberata, Eutropia, Liberatrix, or Regenflegis, etc., was a very remarkable saint. The Christian daughter of an undated heathen King of Portugal, she was offered by him in marriage to another Pagan king, but she, declaring she would have no spouse but Christ, was cast into prison. There she prayed for some disfigurement that would make her unlovely in men's eyes, and at once a long thick beard grew upon her face. This was manifest witchcraft, said her father, who forthwith had her crucified. Her body is said to be preserved at Siguenza, in Spain.

Lights were burnt before her image in the Norwich churches of St. Giles, St. James, and St. Peter, Parmentergate. In an inventory of this last occur these items: "two of maide Uncombre's best cotes; a cote of Maide Uncumber of redde silk." In 1538 Simon Westgate was buried before the image of St. Uncumber in St. James' Church. On the screen of Worstead Church she is shown "crucified with ropes," etc., a red robe tied round her ankle, mantle extended, beard obtained by prayer for protection of her chastity.

St. Petronilla, or Parnell (31st May).—According to Alban Butler, "she is said to have been a daughter of the Apostle Peter, which tradition is confirmed by certain writings quoted by the Manichees." She had an altar in Yarmouth parish church, and in 1404 the Norwich Priory Rolls have this: "In pictura ymaginis Sancte Petronilla v^{s}. vi^{d}." She is figured on the screens at North Elmham and Trimingham, and pilgrimages were made to St. Parnell of Stratton. But this saint had greater vogue in Suffolk. At the south gate of Bury St. Edmunds was a hospital for leprous maidens dedicated to St. Petronilla, and in the great abbey there was her skull, which the country people were taught to lay to their heads, thereby to be cured of all kinds of agues. The church of Whepstead, four miles from Bury St. Edmunds, is dedicated to her. Among the aristocratic families of East Anglia, Petronilla was anciently a popular name, but by some curious process of degradation it came, as "purnel," to mean a sluttish waiting wench, or a wanton. Instances will occur to all readers of our old literature, for the word is practically obsolete. Pernel, lost caste, says Bardsley, through its becoming a cant term for women of a certain character. An undated *Lyfe of Petronylla*, printed by Pynson, begins thus:—

"The parfyte lyfe to put in remembraunce
Of a virgyn moost gracious and entere
Which in all vertu had sovereyn suffysaunce
Called Petronylla Peters doughter dere."

St. Erasmus (2nd June).—Commonly called St. Elmo, was the advocate and protector of sailors, especially in the Mediterranean. He was Bishop of Naples, disembowelled under Diocletian, A.D. 303, at Formiæ (Gaeta), where his relics are (or were) held in great reverence. He was represented by image or painting at St. George's Tombland, Norwich, Buckenham Ferry, Fakenham, Hempstead, and Yarmouth.

An alabaster carving, representing the ghastly martyrdom of this saint, discovered under the floor of Buckenham Ferry Church, is now in the Norwich Castle Museum. He is the successor of the classical Castor and Pollux, and is frequently referred to by poets, amongst others by Ariosto:—

> "Ma diede speme lor d'aria serena
> La desiata luce di Santo Ermo."

There are innumerable references to St. Elmo's Light in European literature. The pale greenish flame is well described in Michael Scott's delightful novel, *Tom Cringle's Log*, chap. 3.

St. William of Norwich (24th March).—Boy alleged to have been crucified by Norwich Jews in 1144; supposed to be the first case in Europe of the so-called "blood accusation." The body was afterwards removed into Norwich Cathedral, and Miracles were wrought at the shrine. A chapel of St. William in the Wood (on Mousehold) was built by Bishop Turbe, and dedicated with great ceremony, 27th April, 1168. "The chapple yard called St. Wyllyms in the Wood" was devised to Dame Jane Calthorpe, 30 Henry VIII.; and Burton, in his *History of the Norwich Grammar School*, 1677, wrote:

> "The Chapel of St. William, an 'indiges' or patron saint of Norwich, commonly called St. William in the Wood, that formerly stood on the mossy hill (*in moscoso monte*), is now entirely destroyed."

In 1730 some labourers digging on Mousehold Heath are said to have discovered some foundation walls of it

thirty-three inches thick. St. William of Norwich figured on screens at Loddon, Worstead, St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, and Eye, in Suffolk. *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich* were given in a handsome volume by Dr. Jessopp and Dr. Montague R. James in 1896.

Sir John Schorne, a sort of semi-saint, was Rector of North Marston, Bucks., *c.* 1290, where he blessed a well, on the wall of which was the inscription:—

> "Sir John Shorn
> Gentleman born
> Conjured the Devil into a Boot."

One thinks it must have been out of the boot, as the water from his well was an all-heal for colds and the like:—

> "To Maister John Shorne, that blessed man borne,
> For the ague to him we apply,
> Which jugeleth with a bote, I beschrewe his harte rote,
> That will trust him, and it be I."

The shrine was removed from North Marston to Windsor towards the close of the fifteenth century, but became obliterated by later monuments, etc.

This eccentric miracle-worker is figured on screens at Cawston, Gately, and Suffield, in Norfolk; also at Sudbury, Suffolk, and Portlemouth and Wolborough, Devon. Prayers and hymns were often addressed to Master Schorne.

The Holy Maid Ridibone.—This holy maiden appears on the same screen at Gately as Sir John Schorne. Thomas of Walsingham tells the story of the little maid, five years old, who, in 1344, fell into the water at Bettlespole, near Redbourn, Herts., and was seized and carried up by the mill wheel. But a crowd assembled, and seeing the grief of the mother, prayed with one voice to the blessed Protomartyr St. Alban, and the child was saved. Walsingham was a monk of St. Albans, and the

story went that the relics of St. Amphibalus (quite an apocryphal person) were found at Redbourn, where wonderful miracles occurred before the remains were enshrined in St. Alban's Abbey.

In Cromer Church there was a Maid Ridibone's Chapel, and it is a noticeable circumstance that Losinga, first Bishop of Norwich (1091-1121), dedicated the church at Redbourn, where a cell of Benedictine monks connected with St. Albans was also established. North Marston, where Schorne was vicar, is less than twenty miles from Redbourn. Both he and the maid of Redbourn are mentioned in John Heywood's play called *The Four P's* (Palmer, Pardoner, Poticary, and Pedlar). His Palmer had been—

> "At rydy-bone and at the blood of Hayles
> Where pylgrymes paynes ryght much avayles.
> . . . .
> At Mayster Johan Shorne, at Canterbury,
> The great god of Katewade, at King Harry," etc.

King Henry VI. himself (1422-1461) was venerated as a saint at Fakenham, Horstead, and Yarmouth; and there was an image to him in St. Michael's Chapel, on the Mousehold heights. He is found on the screens at Binham, Barton Turf, and Gately.

NORFOLK CHURCH PLATE

By the Rev. Edmund C. Hooper

GOLD and silver, from their intrinsic value, their beauty when worked, and their extreme ductility, have from the earliest days been used not only for money, but for vessels and ornaments which were intended to be of value. We shall remember of Havilah, that "the gold of that land is good"; and ornaments of gold and silver are of frequent mention all through Bible times. So, too, in the Epic poems of Homer, gold and silver are spoken of, and all doubt about the trustworthiness of the substance of those poems must be set at rest by the investigations of Dr. Schliemann at Troy, where a large quantity of such ornaments were found.

But gold and silver are in substance too soft to be used by themselves, and so it has been the universal custom to mix a certain proportion of other metals with them to make them hard enough for ordinary use. This addition has always been regulated by law, and, therefore, is known as "alloy," a corruption of the French "a la loi."

To see whether an article submitted to us is of real value, we must be able to read off the marks, which should be found on all gold and silver, when we shall know, not whether the metal is quite pure, for practically no gold or silver in use is so, but whether it is of some fixed and recognised standard.

There are some exceptions, but these are for the most part capable of explanation.

It was the complaint about Australian sovereigns at one time that they were so soft as to be easily broken, the metal, in fact, being too good. I remember the case of a labouring man some forty years ago, who, having received an Australian sovereign for his wages, accidentally broke it. One reason for the various laws on this subject is that there have been many attempts to debase the coinage by putting more than a certain proportion of alloy into the money, and so enrich the Treasury. For those who wish to pursue this subject further, any of the standard works should be consulted; but the present proportions are, for *money:—Gold*—22 parts "fine," 2 parts of alloy in 24 parts. *Silver*—11 oz. 2 dwts. fine, 18 dwts. alloy in 12 parts, the alloy being copper.

Gold *ware* may be 22 carats fine, the same as money, or 18 carats fine—the usually best sort, or 15, 12, or 9 carats fine; but these last three must be marked additionally 15 and ·625 for 15 carat, 12 and ·5 for 12 carat, and 9 and ·375 for 9 carat, where the decimal shows the exact amount of pure metal used.

Old Gold and Silver Plate may be of interest and value for many reasons. One piece may be of great weight; another of fine workmanship; another of extreme antiquity; another may have some unusual or curious hall mark, of interest only to the expert; while many pieces, of little if any value in themselves, have some interest or history attached to them, connected with their gift or possession, or use on some particular occasion.

I know of several pieces of gaudy copper, silver or even gold-plated, engraved with elaborate crests and coats of arms and inscriptions; while in these days electro-plating has become such a fine art that white metal so treated is just as good for ordinary purposes as good silver.

A case was referred to me some eighteen years ago as to whether a handsome piece of plate, known to be a

Royal gift from one of the children of King George III., was really gold, or merely silver gilt. Now the marks for silver and gold are the same, and I was unwilling to decide myself, for it might have been either; so it was taken to London to an expert goldsmith, who made a slight scratch in a place not likely to be observed, when the *white* beneath showed it was silver, though well gilt; yet this piece had been valued for probate more than once as solid gold.

My own studies have been almost exclusively on the subject of Church Plate; but it is well to understand that the laws for all silver are the same, whether for church use or not, so that a good deal of general knowledge is necessary before we take up some one part more specially.

If, then, it is asked where we shall meet with some of the best pieces of old silver in Norfolk, I recommend a careful inspection and then inventory of the plate chest at home, to begin with, using as guide books Mr. Cripps' *Old English Plate*, of which the ninth edition has been published since his death by his widow; or Mr. C. J. Jackson's *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, from which we shall get the requisite but indispensable technical knowledge; for even those who have not much plate may often have a few pieces of real value. Inquiry should then be made about the church plate belonging to the parish church and other churches near; then permission may be sought to examine any municipal plate belonging to our cities, while a few may be found in local museums.

We must be prepared for surprises in our search; I have often delighted people by telling them that their church plate or other possession was far older and more interesting than they had supposed possible; chiefly when it proved to be second-hand, and bore some inscription of its gift afterwards to some other church or person; while in other cases I had to say that a piece was not pure metal, and of little value. Still it is well to know.

For instance, in the days of my childhood a silver coffee-pot used regularly to appear on our breakfast table. I did not know till a few years ago that that coffee-pot was made in the year 1711 by a silversmith named Joseph Ward, and that it is of the higher or Britannia standard of silver. Another point is that silverware, even for church use, is easily bought and sold; and this has far too often occurred. There is, therefore, a quantity of second-hand plate in existence which may have two or three histories. If money be scarce, plate may be sold to make more. Nearly all the plate of that date is believed to have been made into money during the Wars of the Roses. In the year 1642 Sir John Hinde Cotton, of Landwade, then of Madingley, took the Cambridge plate to Oxford for the King's (Charles I.) use. Old plate is perpetually sold now.

Ordinary wear, too, uses up silver in time, especially if it be not carefully cleansed. I know of several old chalices which have become slightly cracked, or otherwise unfit for use; and very many cases where perpetual rubbing has at length made one or more hall-mark almost or quite illegible. I have a chalice at Starston of which the date-letter is probably that for 1753; but I could not find the maker's name in any of the usual reference books. Further study has convinced me that the makers were the firm of Robert Gurney and Thomas Cook, whose mark was $\text{R}\frac{\text{T}}{\text{C}}\text{G}$, but only the T. G. are now legible.

It is only a knowledge of what marks may be expected that will sometimes enable us to decipher an apparently hopeless blotch. At Denton there is a piece of Church Plate on which the maker's mark is something under a crown. From the other marks, however, I soon saw that the plate is by the same maker as some at Hempnall, and that the initials are E. H., as given by Mr. Cripps, page 109, and Mr. Jackson, page 301.

For the best pieces in Norfolk I must refer my readers

to several articles in the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society's *Proceedings*, chiefly by the late honorary secretary, Canon Manning, who, as my rural dean, most kindly helped me to begin my studies on this subject. He published inventories of his own (Rĕdenhall) Deanery Church Plate in 1880, and of Norwich in 1884. In the inventory of the Norwich Plate will be found full accounts of the two fine cups belonging to St. Peter Mancroft parish, as well as many other pieces of interest. Then in 1893 he wrote an account of the thirty-three pre-Reformation patens in Norfolk, with photographs of each; another such paten has since been found at Narford. The best of these are perhaps those at Felbrigg and Merton, while the oldest may be that at Foxley (*circa* 1350).

The oldest pieces of Church Plate now known to exist are the so-called "Coffin Chalices," which are now and then found in the coffins of bishops and abbots during excavations. It used to be the custom to bury beloved pastors with the chalice and paten in their hands, as emblems of their office. Such have been found, and may be seen at Chichester, Canterbury, York, etc., while one at Worcester, found in the grave of Bishop Cantelupe, must be at least as old as the year 1266, in which he died. For a full list see Cripps, pp. 216, 217, 234, 235.

There is but little Church Plate earlier than the Reformation—only some twenty-nine chalices and one hundred patens, of which, as we have seen, thirty-four are in Norfolk—for all Church Plate, except the few pieces which accidentally escaped, was re-cast, or re-hammered, into a shape preferred by our Reformers during the early years of Queen Elizabeth. To use their own expression, the "profane chalices" were altered into "decent Communion Cups"; but the logic of the alteration does not seem quite apparent, for though the cup was restored to the laity, the bowl is often not larger in the "decent Communion Cup" than in the "profane

chalice." It now seems more likely that some Geneva or German model was followed; the old shape alone being the objection. The patens which used to fit the chalices, by being placed on them convex side downwards, were now replaced concave side downwards, which generally necessitated a little rim and a foot, on which the name of the parish and date are sometimes inscribed. That many of these were made out of the older plate appears probable from the fact that much of the present Elizabethan plate is not hall-marked at all, or has only one, the maker's mark. But if no fresh "assay" were necessary, the hall-marking would be omitted.

I believe that no "coffin chalices" have been found in Norfolk, but some half of our parishes have their Elizabethan cups and paten covers, many of them being of magnificent workmanship, though the names of the parishes are very poorly inscribed, probably not by the silversmith. A few of these were made or re-made at London—as at Stratton St. Mary and Wheatacre—but nearly all at Norwich, and bear the three marks: (1) the Norwich Castle and lion (the "provincial" mark); (2) the date-letter, showing in what year the work was done; (3) the maker's mark, of which the "orb and cross," the trefoil slipped, the flat-fish, an estoil of six points, are fairly common; also the sun in splendour, now known to be the mark of the eminent Norwich silversmith, Peter Peterson.

That the patens were often made out of the older plate is indicated by their sometimes having a little hole in the centre, which makes them almost unfit for use, except as covers to the cups. This little hole is where the central device, universal in earlier patens, was fixed, but was torn off at the Reformation. At Barsham, near Beccles, which adjoins Norfolk, there is a fine pre-Reformation paten, with the central device lost, rendering it almost useless. It could easily be restored after good ancient models.

Not much plate remains of the rest of that century; there are a few pieces of the time of Charles I., and at Carbrooke and Scoulton, near Watton, are two second-hand pieces, made in the time of the Commonwealth. It is surprising, perhaps, that the Revolution did not press harder on the Church Plate, as organs were entirely abolished; but some remains of the time of Charles II.; and a great deal was made from about 1690 to 1720, including the "High Church" days of Queen Anne. Now, during part of this period, viz., from March, 1696, to June, 1720, the plate was of higher value, viz., 11 oz. 10 dwts. fine (Jackson, p. 18), in order to replenish the silver for coinage. All such plate can be at once detected by the marks of Britannia and the lion's head erased, instead of the "leopard's" head crowned and the lion passant. In the latter year, the scarcity of silver being over, and the metal from its fineness being found to wear, a return was made to the old "touch" or standard, since when it has not been altered.

Since then, silver plate has been manufactured and given to churches for all sorts of reasons, much of it is good, some very poor; but during these last few years a knowledge of the best early specimens of good ware has caused these to be copied in large numbers. The beautiful mediæval chalice and paten at Nettlecombe, in Somersetshire, dated 1479, have been such a standard for new plate as to be known as the "Nettlecombe" shape.

Flagons are very seldom found earlier than the Commonwealth. In earlier days two cruet-shaped glass bottles—one for wine, one for water—were used; but an interesting example may be seen at Crostwight, of about the date 1580; it has but one mark, the well-known "orb and cross."

After the Restoration, and from Queen Anne's time, they become frequent; sometimes there are two, these being in some cases of large size; in fact, all plate was then much larger. This is attributed by some to the

"Quarterly Communion" of those days, or possibly it was only part of the prevailing love of display. Altar candlesticks supply us with a history that many would never have looked for. Hardly any exist before the time of Charles II., but during his reign most of our cathedral and collegiate churches were furnished with a pair. Casual visitors to Norwich Cathedral are not likely to be aware of the fact that the two candlesticks now in use are silver-gilt, and that they bear the date-letter for 1665.

Here is a list of those I have noted, drawn from several sources:—

Christ Church, Oxford	dated	1660.
Gloucester Cathedral	„	1661.
Salisbury Cathedral	„	1663.
Norwich Cathedral	„	1665.
York Minster	„	1673.
„ „ sockets to do. ...	„	1682.
[These were the gift of Archbishop Sancroft, formerly Dean of York.]		
Exeter Cathedral	dated	1681.
Westminster Abbey	„	1684.
H M. Dockyard, Portsmouth ...	„	1704.
St. John's College, Cambridge ...	„	1746.
Trinity College, Oxford	„	1759.
Durham Cathedral	„	1767.

Those at Canterbury and Rochester Cathedrals, and at Lambeth Palace, are of the same period, about 1660 to 1680.

The chalice and paten-cover, with the old "boiled leather" case, of which an illustration is here given, were part of the private Non-juring Communion Plate used by Archbishop Sancroft at Fressingfield after his ejection from Lambeth. Of its use there, the following letter will be found in D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. ii., p. 18.

"Fresingfield,
"December 23rd, 1691.

"Honest, constant, dear Friend,

"I write this only to present my kindest respects to my noble friend, your landlord and yourself, and to let you know, (seeing you so kindly enquire after it,) that I bless God I am well, at the old rate, which you know, and have been so without the interruption of a single day, ever since I came to this place. But the spirit of calumny, the persecution of the tongue, dogs me even into this wilderness. Dr. Lake, of Garlic Hill, and others have (as I am informed) filled your city with a report, that I go constantly to this parish church, and pray for I know not whom nor how, and receive the holy sacrament there; so that my cousin had some thing to do, to satisfy even my friends, that it was quite otherwise; whereas I was never so much as once, out of this poor house, and the yards and avenues, since I first came directly from London into it; and I never suffered our Vicar, or any other nor even my chaplains, when they were here, so much as to say grace where I eat; but I constantly officiate myself 'secundum usum Lambethenum' which you know; and never give the holy sacrament, but to those of my own persuasion and practice.

"Yours, yours,
"W. C."

It will be noted that the Archbishop signs himself "W. C.," *i.e.*, "William Cantuar," not recognizing his successor.

It will be observed that the chalice is Elizabethan, dated 1567, but the paten, not illustrated, is dated 1691, the year of the Archbishop's ejection. From a careful enquiry I have reason to believe that the chalice and paten cover are the old Lambeth Palace Chapel Plate, which the Archbishop felt justified in taking for himself when new was given there, partly by Sancroft himself (see *Newbery House Magazine* for April, 1891).

After the Archbishop's death in 1693, this plate seems to have remained in his family until the year 1742, when Mrs. Catherine Sancroft, widow of the archbishop's great nephew, was living in this parish (Starston), and gave them to this parish church, as is recorded in the registers by Rev. Philip Williams, D.D., President of S. John's College, Cambridge, who was the first to be appointed to this benefice after the patronage had been given to

Archbishop Sancroft's Plate.

the college by the Hon. and Rev. Richard Hill, Fellow of St. John's College, and British Ambassador to the Court of Rome.

Plate has been assayed at Norwich since the earliest times, but the "mystery" ceased in 1701, although I know of one place (Hempnall) where the chalice and paten bear Norwich hall-marks and the date 1704. The date-letter is illegible.

Three pieces of Lynn work are known—the town mark being three dragons' heads, with crosses in their mouths, in allusion to the old Lynn dedication to St. Margaret; they are at St. Nicholas, Lynn; at St. Peter Southgate, Norwich; and at Middleton, near Lynn.

Since the above was written I have finished the inventory of the Plate in the Deanery of Humbleyard. The Guild Cup (as it probably is) at Hethel is certainly one of the most interesting in the county. The date letter seems clear for 1499, though the style suggests a date about forty years later; but the engraving of the workman's hammer seems conclusive that this is the guild cup of some Freemasons. When we think of the enormous amount of Church building in the "Perpendicular" period, it seems surprising that no more of their trade property has survived.

In concluding this chapter, I desire to say that its form and substance have been mainly determined by a desire not to trespass on ground which has been already amply covered by other writers.

TYPICAL NORFOLK HOUSES: THEIR BUILDERS AND EARLY INHABITANTS

By R. J. W. Purdy

THE great number of remains of ancient houses in this county, which afford so much interest and pleasure to the casual traveller passing through its rural districts, renders the task somewhat invidious of selecting subjects to represent country life as it existed in the various periods when each respective edifice was the centre of the taste, learning, and occupation of its owner, who was the principal resident in the neighbourhood.

Before alluding to a specimen of one of the grand relics of Norman times, it will be well to give a transient glance at that golden age of early British history which prevailed during the Roman occupation of the island.

Looking at a map of Roman Britain, the first thing that strikes one is the numerous roads that traversed the country in straight lines connecting the various towns and their adjacent strongholds, proving that the condition of rural life was far more advanced than has been usually imagined.

In this respect, however, Norfolk has more blank spaces than any other district of the same size. The reason is not difficult to find, for owing to the fierce disposition and warlike bent of its inhabitants, the Iceni, great caution had to be observed by the invaders, lest they should be

ambushed. This also probably accounts for the large number of moated enclosures scattered over its surface, many of which were made for the protection of the Roman soldiers, and were, in later times, chosen by Saxons, Danes, and Normans to place their houses upon. The earlier buildings were mostly made of wood, and consequently the marked absence of brick and stone materials on most of them.

For a long time the chief evidence of Roman work in Norfolk consisted of these roads and the big earthworks that surrounded the camps made at intervals all along their route. The great Fen road from Peterborough to Lynn was probably continued through Castleacre and North Elmham to Caistor and Burgh, and if lines be drawn from East Dereham, which is practically the centre of the county, to King's Lynn and Wells, the triangle so formed would include the camps of Castleacre, North Elmham, and Brancaster, besides some smaller stations, with the rich marshland bordering the Wash for its north-western boundary, thus pointing to the discernment of the Romans in raising the great bank along the coast to keep the sea from invading a tract containing some of the most fertile soil in the country. Quite recently a discovery made in the parish of Grimston, where the site of a Roman villa has been uncovered, leads to the supposition that this north-western section of Norfolk contained other residences of Roman citizens replete with the luxuries of the age. The villa in question was evidently adorned with paintings and mosaics suited to the taste of this classical people. A midden near the entrance to the Hypercaust contained fragments of pottery and Samian ware, together with oyster, whelk, and edible snail shells; also pieces of cornice and dado, beautifully painted, as well as portions of glass, and flooring composed of small tesseræ in patterns of various colours. It is to be hoped that further research will reveal other villa residences in the same locality.

When the Romans left, the inhabitants rapidly lapsed into a state of barbarism, which prevailed throughout Saxon times. Frequent invasions and perpetual warfare so retarded the progress of civilization that it was not till after the Norman Conquest that country life here began to assume a settled condition, so as to permit art once more to flourish and leave its stamp indelibly impressed on the fragments spared to be a testimony to future generations of the high state of culture to which their authors had attained. The stern grandeur of the massive castles built by the followers of the Norman Duke cannot fail to impress the tourist of to-day with a feeling of respect, merging into veneration, for his ancestors who raised these mighty piles, whose construction cost so much labour and enabled their possessors to assume such authority in the district surrounding them, that steps were taken by the Crown to curtail the power of their military occupants.

The best example of these houses may be seen in the magnificent ruin at Castle Rising. Built by William d'Albini, son of the "Piscerna Regis" of the same name, this was a first-class stronghold, and in due time became the residence, or so-called prison, of Queen Isabella, the she-wolf of France, wife of the unfortunate Edward II., whose tragic end is so well known. During the period of her sojourn here, which lasted twenty-seven years, this castle must have been in the zenith of its glory. We can well imagine the regal splendour with which she entertained her son, Edward III., on his frequent visits to this place. The country round must have benefitted greatly by supplying the enormous consumption of food necessary for the support of several hundreds of retainers always living within the castle precincts.

The citizens of Lynn contributed many pipes of wine, barrels of sturgeons, falcons, and other things conducive to the enjoyment of these festive gatherings.

Mannington Hall.

Grand sport, both hunting and hawking, could be obtained just outside the castle walls. We can picture the gay trains of nobles, knights, and dames that issued from the portals of this royal residence to wander over the marshes lying between it and the sea in pursuit of herons, cranes, and other fowl, to test the qualities of the falcons provided by the lords of the adjacent manors, or chasing the deer that abounded in the neighbouring forest, stretching towards the heights of Sandringham, with the hounds, also provided by the holders of certain manors for the King's pleasure, in accordance with the terms under which the manor had been granted to them.

Standing on the edge of the earthwork surrounding the existing ruin, we are led to wonder how accommodation could be found to supply the need of the courtly retinue so frequently gathered within its enclosure. But we are apt to forget that the great hall, gallery, and lodgings where Queen Isabella entertained her son and his court have long since vanished, having once occupied the open spaces around the keep.

The same line of reasoning applies to its great sister fortress in Norwich, supposed to have been planned by the same architect, where all vestiges of halls, lodgings, chapel, kitchens, and offices have been swept away.

At this time few smaller houses existed in the country, except the cabins of the villeins, borderers, and others engaged in agriculture; but a great change took place after the suppression of the castles, when so many of the smaller folk were installed in manors after the reign of the feudal barons. These knights and squires built their houses in the various parishes within their manor, selecting, in many cases, the moated enclosures already referred to, frequently taking their surnames from the parish itself. Edifices of this date abound throughout the county, although but few retain their original form of the plain embattled flint house characteristic of the fourteenth century, having been added to and adorned

with the elaborate brick gateways and chimney-stacks introduced in early Tudor days. For this reason Mannington Hall, near Aylsham, has been chosen to represent the dwelling-house of the country squire in the fifteenth century. Two maps in the possession of its present owner, the Earl of Orford, the earlier one dated 1565, the later 1742, each containing a sketch of the house, show how little it has been altered from its original state.

In 1451 William Lumner obtained a licence to embattle and fortify it. Seated in a sheltered valley, watered by a tributary of the Bure, which feeds its moat, and placed on a bed or mound of gravel, it occupies a site very similar to that chosen in half a dozen cases within as many miles of it, proving that warmth and water were essential conditions in those days. It has, fortunately, survived the ravages of time, and escaped the destruction that modern vandalism has wreaked on many of the neighbouring manor-houses. It is composed of squared flints, with an octagonal tower at each corner of the south front, one of which contains a recess cut in the wall large enough to secrete two persons behind a sliding panel. In these towers are the original lancet windows, but the rest appear to have been inserted about 1560, judging from their richly bevelled brick mouldings. The great hall occupied a large portion of the building; it was open to the top of the house, with its minstrel gallery on the north side. Here the squire and servants dined together, as was the custom in those days. Two large rooms on the ground floor, and a limited space for the sleeping accommodation of the family, ill accord with modern notions of comfort. The bulk of the servants occupied lodgings outside the moat, as the plan on the older map leads one to conclude. There was an elaborate arrangement of fish-stews, divided by sluices, so that the contents of each small pond could be taken out without having to drag the larger stew-pond behind the house.

The dove-cot contributed its quota towards the few

luxuries that obtained in the days of the Lumners, when the cultivated land seems to have been confined to a few enclosures around the house, with the common field and its many small occupiers; the rest being sheep-walks and heath.

Great alterations had taken place in the surroundings before the later map was made: much of the wild land had been brought under cultivation, and a numerous tenantry had sprung up in the parish.

Of their buildings and fenced enclosures nothing now remains, having all been absorbed into two large farms. Roads took the place of the former trackways, a large portion of the ground had been planted, and the park extended towards Itteringham.

A result of the improvements made by the descendants of the Lumners when their lands passed into the hands of the Walpoles, may be gathered from the fact that no less than seventeen thousand trees are mentioned in the valuation. This gives some idea of the labour expended on the estate in planting and road-making, for this land was described as sheep-walks and rough ground in the older map. Much of it has since been cleared of timber, and is now cultivated in large fields.

Whether the absorption of all these small farms into two large holdings has benefitted the country is a problem which the community is now called on to solve. Anyway, we have no reason to doubt the happiness of a larger number of landholders, for in those days the deadly virus of the agitator had not succeeded in permeating the masses, and so rending asunder those ties of good feeling that bound together employer and employed.

One of the finest examples of the domestic architecture of the close of the fifteenth century remaining in England is Oxborough Hall, near Swaffham. It is a castellated building of brick, surrounded by a wide moat, and was erected in 1482 by Sir Edmund Bedingfield, whose family had settled there early in the fourteenth century,

and whose descendant, Sir H. G. Paston-Bedingfield, Bart., is the present owner. The entrance tower is 80 feet high and has an octangular turret on each side of the archway. The bridge which spans the moat is modern. This entrance tower is almost in its original state. The most interesting part of the building is the King's room, over the gateway, which contains some tapestry of the time of Henry VII., and is traditionally said to have been occupied by that King. In a turret, projecting from the east tower, is a "priest's hiding-hole." A plan and a good view of the tower are given in Gotch's *Early Renaissance Architecture in England.*

Hunstanton Hall, the seat of the old Norfolk family of L'Estrange, is another fine example of a moated and castellated building, of about the same date. It has been the praiseworthy aim of its owners to keep it almost in its original condition, and thus it remains a part of our English history.

On the termination of the War of the Roses a considerable change took place in the architecture of the country house. There was less need for defence. That important safeguard, the drawbridge, was no longer raised every night, and was frequently replaced by a permanent bridge of solid masonry. The moat was even drained in some cases where it was practicable, and occasionally converted into a flower garden. The flint and freestone battlements and towers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with their lancet windows, were replaced by brick buildings, lighted by large mullioned windows richly moulded. A striking feature in these houses is the string-course, enriched with shields impressed with the arms of the family, and frequently their rebus. The highly ornate chimney-stacks gave a dignified finish to the mansion.

The remains of such a house may be seen at East Barsham, called the Wolterton Manor House, built in the reign of Henry the Eighth by Sir William Fermor. It will well repay examination, for few houses are adorned

East Barsham Hall, Norfolk.

(*From an Old Print.*)

with such a wealth of moulded bricks containing the arms and quarterings of so many local families of distinction. Here it was Henry the Eighth slept the night previous to his pilgrimage to Walsingham, where he perpetrated the outrageous farce of presenting the celebrated emerald necklace to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, whose image he ordered to be burnt at Chelsea in the thirtieth year of his reign. The action taken by the King towards the monks, by inflicting upon them the refined tortures of those times, in order to compel them to give information about their hidden treasure, completely failed, to the great annoyance of the Commissioners, who returned the value under £1,000, Canterbury and Glastonbury having yielded sixty and forty thousand pounds respectively. There is still a deeply-rooted idea in the minds of the lower class that the famous jewel and treasure are hidden in the neighbourhood. Anyone seen examining the banks and ruins surrounding this religious house is said to be looking for the lost treasure. Another house of about the same date stands in the parish of Great Snoring, three miles to the east of Barsham, built by Sir John Shelton, whose rebus, a shell and a tun, is inserted at intervals along the string course. Although devoid of the massive grandeur of Barsham, it is a fine example of the decorated work of the period. A specially remarkable feature about both these buildings is the terra-cotta ornamentation, which testifies to the Italian influences in English work of that period, but was probably the work of Englishmen with Italian proclivities, rather than that of Italians under English orders, as Mr. Gotch points out.[1]

Still there was a lack of that domestic comfort, combined with picturesque appearance, that marked the buildings raised in the succeeding Elizabethan age, of which so many fine examples may be found in the county, although they were nearly all built in Jacobean days.

[1] *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*, pp. 19, 47.

Of these, Blickling Hall, near Aylsham, may be quoted as the best representative. One of the brightest gems in the great collection of Norfolk houses, this noble mansion was built by Sir Henry Hobart in 1620, and finished about 1628 by his son, Sir John, when the chapel in it was consecrated. Its plan is quadrangular, with two open courts in the centre. The approach between two magnificent yew fences, beyond which the stables and offices flank both sides of the road to the bridge over the moat, which is now dry and is utilized as a flower garden, is most striking as the visitor leaves the church and suddenly faces the hall as he stands in the middle of the high road leading from Aylsham to Holt. The coign of vantage that commands the finest view of all is an alcove called the echo, on the south side of the pleasure ground. From this point the east front that overlooks the charming gardens is seen to perfection. Looking over the lake, the rising ground beyond is crowned with a group of magnificent beech trees, and through a gap in their midst, the horizon is bounded by the serrated outline of the tops of two rows of gigantic silver firs more than 100 feet in height, which form part of the avenue leading to Wolterton Hall, and were planted by the Lord Walpole who caused that mansion to be erected. He was father of the first Earl of Orford of the second creation. This side of Blickling Hall contains the splendid library, 127 feet long. The ceiling of this apartment is decorated with scrolls and figures in plaster work of the rarest. It contains over 1,200 volumes, including early missals and manuscripts of great value. The great hall, with its fine oak staircase, was a new feature in the builder's day. It was no longer used as a living or dining room, but merely as the entrance to the suite of grand apartments lying on each side of it. The sleeping accommodation, excepting a few rooms on the second floor, was mean for the size of such a building; bathrooms being still unknown luxuries. On the north side of the garden

was a vista a mile in length, at the end of which is a stone pyramid. Under it are interred the remains of the Earls of Buckinghamshire. This vista, for some reason, has been planted across. Conspicuous features in the park were three long avenues, radiating from the centre of the west front of the house. These have also been blocked, but it is to be hoped will some day be opened out again. In taking leave of this stately house and its delightful surroundings, we cannot refrain from expressing thanks for the favour bestowed on the public by the authorities in power for permitting an inspection of the charming gardens one day weekly during the summer months.

The last type of country house to be mentioned belongs to a period when, sad to say, beauty had ceased to be any accessory of domestic architecture. With the advent of the House of Hanover the square box plan prevailed throughout the country. Hideous blocks of brick, pierced at regular intervals with sash windows, replaced the old mullions with their richly bevelled edges; even the triangular architrave that lingered till the time of Queen Anne was omitted. The porch, always a useful as well as an ornamental adjunct, was also abandoned. In fact, the chief redeeming feature in these structures consisted in the comfort they afforded their occupants in the shape of large, square, lofty rooms, where tawdry paper took the place of oak panel. Occasionally a palace was reared by some nobleman, whose architect introduced Italian taste, which, however much it might be fitted for the sunny skies of Italy, presented a cold, cheerless aspect here compared to the mellow tone assumed by the Tudor and Elizabethan brick dwellings, so suited to the varied climate of England. The example selected to represent the latter class of house is Houghton Hall, the largest and most magnificent country house in Norfolk, commenced by Sir Robert Walpole in 1722, and taking thirteen years to complete under the direction of Ripley, the architect.

For close on six hundred years Walpoles had been dwellers at Houghton; indeed, ever since their moated house at Walpole St. Peter was burnt by King John in his raid against the rebellious barons, when Richard de Walpole married Emma, daughter of Walter de Houton. This palace was the third house they had made their home within what is now Houghton Park.

In the earlier days the village clustered around the hall and church, as was the case in so many Norfolk parishes; but when it became the fashion to empark a large quantity of land around the hall, the cottages were razed, and in some instances the church was not spared where a modern chapel was attached to the new house. This was the first breaking of ties between the great man and his followers, who were no longer permitted to remain within the sacred precincts of the park, but were compelled to take up their abode in cottages provided for them near one of the smaller manor houses, now occupied by some of the great man's tenant farmers.

While dwelling on the glories of Houghton Hall, we must not forget to mention two other notable halls in the same neighbourhood, namely, Raynham and Holkham. The former is the seat of the Townshends, and was built in 1636 by Inigo Jones. It is a fine example of an early Renaissance building, and of the style of the great architect at that period. Many buildings are ascribed to him by tradition without any authority, but here, says Mr. Reginald Blomfield—

"the tradition is verified by the building itself. Quiet, reserved, and dignified in the highest degree, it stands by itself, apart alike from the mere picturesqueness of Jacobean work and from the genial yet coarser manner of Wren."

The house is substantially unaltered, except that the central pediment and Ionic order on the east side were added about the end of the seventeenth century, when extensive alterations were made in the internal decoration,

and "it abounds with refinements of design which show the unfaltering touch of a great master in architecture."

The first or principal floor is reached by a grand flight of steps outside the house, an improvement in house-planning introduced by Inigo Jones, which did away with the need for a great staircase inside the house; and the ceiling of the great saloon is, perhaps, says the same authority, the most perfect example left of his method of treating plaster.

Holkham Hall is the seat of the Earl of Leicester, the veteran to whom every Norfolk inhabitant wishes still further length of life than that to which he has already attained, for all his days have been spent in promoting the welfare of his native county and every philanthropic and antiquarian object that appealed to him. It was built just one hundred years later than Raynham, about 1734, for "Coke of Norfolk," the ancestor of the present Earl, by William Kent.

Mr. R. Blomfield says:—

"Though unattractive, Holkham is at least original. The general plan consists of a rectangular block containing the principal rooms, with four smaller detached blocks connected by passages at the angles with the main block. The north front has a monotonous repetition of Venetian windows; both fronts are overburdened by the expanse of bare wall above the windows to the principal floor, and the wings are curiously ugly."

An inscription over the main entrance to the hall announces that—

"This seat, on an open, barren estate, was planned, planted, built, decorated, and inhabited in the middle of the eighteenth century, by Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester."

When his house was built the Earl was reported to find life in it very dull and melancholy; he might as well have dwelt in the midst of a wilderness. On one occasion he remarked that his nearest neighbour was the King of Denmark.

Having gone through the various forms of the country house adopted by its builders from Norman to Georgian days, it only remains to allude to the fortunate revival of good taste which set in about the middle of last century, and has been made use of by the modern architect in his designs for mansions built by rich men of the present time, when the consensus of opinion will incline to the domestic Tudor style, whose interior is made to conform with our ideas of comfort, and is best fitted to adorn our parks; and which will tone down in days to come, so as to harmonize with its sylvan surroundings.

THE PASTONS AND THEIR HOMES

By Julia G. Longe.

THE PASTONS

OF all the family records that have come down to us through the centuries, none, perhaps, surpass, in interest and historical value, the "Paston Letters."

Unique as pictures of country life in England during the fifteenth century, they contain not only the private letters and intimate correspondence between various members of the family for three generations, *i.e.*, from 1414 to 1506, but letters from such makers of history as the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Oxford and Suffolk, Sir John Fastolfe, Earl Warwick the "King maker," King Edward IV., Sir Thomas Effingham, Lord Rivers, and many others whose names are prominent in that most important period of English history, the Wars of the Roses.

The Pastons had no place among the nobles of England. They were simple country gentlemen, not even esquires, when we first make their acquaintance. A Norman descent is claimed for them by Blomefield and Sandford —and probably rightly so—though a contemporary chronicler does his best to assign to them a humbler origin, for it is difficult to suppose, had they not previously possessed some gentle breeding, that they could have assumed in one generation without undue elation or false modesty, but as a matter of course (as their letters show), the position they held among greater people than

their immediate neighbours; nor can one suppose that their sons and daughters would have been sought and "laboured for" in marriage by people of wealth and birth had they had nothing to recommend them but their share in the lands of their parents—lands that yielded the smallest possible amount of money, and the bare possession of which was doubtful. Still, of whatever extraction they originally were, it is certain that at the period in which they first became known to history they were poor and of no account, but full of the ambitious energy that was perhaps the ineradicable pride of race trying to reassert itself and take its rightful place once more in society. Be this as it may, the following extract is from a document supposed to have been written by Sir W. Yelverton, one of Judge Paston's "enemies," shortly after the latter's death:—

"First there was one Clement Paston and he was a good plain husbandman and lived upon his land that he had at Paston, and kept a plough all times of the year and sometimes in barley-sell two ploughs.

"The said Clement yede at one plough both winter and summer, and he rode to Mill on the bare horseback with his corn under him and brought home meal again under him . . . as a good husband(man) ought to do.

"Also he had in Paston a five score, or a six score acres of land at the most, and much thereof bond land to Gymmingham Hall, with a poor little water-mill running by a little river there . . . other live-lode nor Manors had he none, there nor in any other place: and he wedded Geoffrey of Somerton (whose true surname is Gould's) sister, which was a bondwoman, to whom it is not unknown (to the Prior of Bromholme and Bakton also, as it is said) if that men will enquire . . .

"Also the said Clement had a son William which he set to school and often borrowed money to find him to school; and after that he yede to court with the help of Geoffrey Somerton his uncle and learnt the law and there begat he much good. . . . "

This William eventually became a judge, and set his foot on the first rung of the ladder of success that his posterity subsequently climbed so rapidly. He made a good marriage, and many friends among the leading country people. Agnes, his wife, was daughter and heiress to Sir Edmund Berry, of Harlingford Hall in Lincolnshire.

William was an honourable man, and earned his appellation of "the good judge." He was appointed one of the King's (Henry VI.) Council for the Duchy of Lancaster, and received a salary of 110 marks, with two robes more than the ordinary allowance for the judges; but, like all who sit in high places, he had some dangerous and bitter enemies, and he fervently "prays the Holie Trinitie" to deliver him from three of them, "that cursed Bishop of Bromholm, Aslak of Sprowston, and Julian Herbord." The "bishop" was an apostate monk who called himself John Paston, but the judge vehemently denied the relationship. Aslak was a man against whom Paston had defended the Prior of Norwich in a case touching the advowson of Sprowston Church, and who ever after pursued him with an unrelenting hatred, and with threats of murder and tortures such as he had inflicted shortly before on a certain John Grys, of Wighton, whom he had surprised in his own house, making merry with the wassail bowl, and dragged, with his son and servant, a mile away to the gallows, where, finding no ropes handy, he and his men had murdered them with every deed of barbarity their brutality could invent. The cause of Herbord's animosity does not appear.

Sir William Paston, who evidently escaped their machinations, died in his bed "on the Thursday at nyght before our Lady's day, betwixt xj and xij of the clokk," in the presence of his wife and eldest son, John, and others, in the year 1444. He spent his hard-earned savings in purchasing a good deal of land in Paston, beside that which he inherited from his father, *i.e.*, the manor of Bacton, and so became lord of the greater part of the soil. He also bought the manor of Oxnead (it became the principal family seat in later days), and left it to his wife for her life; the manor of Greysham, to which his son John took his bride, and other lands in the county.

Of the judge's descendants whom he left established in their position of lords of manors and esquires, the most

prominent characters are John and William (his sons), and his two grandsons, John the elder and John the younger. The women who figure most in the letters are Dame Agnes, wife of the judge; Margaret (Mautby), wife of John "Esquier"; Margery Brews, wife of John the younger; Elizabeth and Anne Paston, and Elizabeth Clere, widow of Robert Clere, of Ormesby, the cousin, friend, and adviser of the whole family.

John Paston, Esquire, or Esquier, as he writes it himself, was four-and-twenty when his father died, and was already married to Margaret Mautby, "a gentlewoman from Reedham," that Agnes had chosen for her son. She made him "gentil cheere in gentil wise," writes Agnes to the judge, "and said he was in verity your son, and so I hope ther sall be no grate treaty betweene them." Nor was there then, nor ever, for Margaret proved a capable and devoted wife for twenty-six years of married life.

John's career on the whole was a successful one, and doubtless by many of his contemporaries he was looked upon as a very fortunate man, for he had great possessions Sir John Fastolfe made him his heir, and left him large estates in both Norfolk and Suffolk. He represented the county in the Parliament of Henry VI. as a supporter of the Duke of York, and in the first year of the reign of Edward IV. he was returned again, and was in such good favour with the new King that he was for some time resident in his household. This prosperity, however, did not last long, and a series of adverse circumstances landed him on three occasions in the Fleet prison, and eventually ended in his being outlawed in 1465, while the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Scales sought to possess themselves of "the gem of his inheritance," Caister Castle.

The incessant litigation and trouble and annoyance attendant upon it told upon John's optimistic nature at last, and soon after his release from his third term of imprisonment, he died in London on May 22nd, 1466. His body was brought home and buried with great pomp

at Bromholm Abbey, with a reckless expenditure that in these days would seem out of all proportion with his rank, and extravagant even for Royalty.

A few items taken from "the Bill of the Prior of Bromholm," whose charges to the family amounted to about a third of the whole expenses, may give some idea of the magnificence of the ceremony:—

"To a cartful of hay		IIIs.	IId.
To fyve swyne		XIIs.	VId.
XX quarters of Mokerell		XIIIs.	
Half a quarter of Mokerell			VIId. ob.
To the Parson of St. Peters for his fee of the wax about the cors besides II candles of I lb. and I hert candle of I lb.... ...			XXd.
For ringing when the coors was in the Church			XIId.
To Paston Church		Xs.	
To Bakton Church		VIs.	VIIId.
For wyne for syngers when the coors was at Norwich		XXs.	
For a cape called a Frog of worsted for the Prior of Bromholm		XXVIs.	IIId.
For grey lynen cloth & sylke fringe for the hers	VI£	XVIs.	IId.
Given at Castor to XXV Householders every household			IIId.
To VIII pore men			XVIIId.
To children in surplices and other pore folk			XIIIId.
To the making of the Hers at Bromholm	XXII£	IXs.	VIIId.
To the Prior of Bromholm for malt spent at the enterment		XLs.	
For light kept on the grave		Xs.	
To the Vyker of Dalling for brynging home a Pardon from Rome to pay for all our Friend's sowles		VIIIs.	IIId.
	&c.	&c.	&c.
To the Keeper of the Inn where myne Hosbond dyed ...			XXs."

From this last-mentioned entry it would seem that the bill had been written out by Margaret, his wife, who survived him many years, dying in 1484, and was buried, at her own request, in Mautby Church.

Many of the wives of these roving squires of the fifteenth century were noble women, the inevitable product of the times—*maitresses femmes* in every sense of the word; while their men-kind followed the fitful fortunes of red rose or white, their wives were faithful stewards of their wealth. They represented them in their numerous and endless law-suits, leased their farms, found a market for the crops, kept the money in strong chests concealed in mysterious hiding-places; they procured their clothes and got them (often with incredible difficulty) purveyed to them; they wrote long and interesting letters full of business and news, at times of the greatest importance to their own affairs and those of the King, and ruled their households, sometimes—it must be said—with a rod of iron; they arranged their sons' marriages and negotiated for suitable "partis" for their daughters, without over much regard for their personal predilections, but with minute and painstaking enquiries into the fortunes and "livelodes" of their prospective sons or daughters-in-law.

But while their elders bartered and bargained for a rich marriage for them, it was inevitable that the young men and maidens should fall in love and get themselves entangled in undesirable love affairs, and John's daughter, after her father's death, cut herself off from her family by her marriage with a very excellent, highly educated (but, alas! not highly born), dependent of the family, named Richard Calle. Her mother, perhaps, eventually became partially reconciled to her, for though she named neither her nor her husband in her will, she left £20 to John Calle, son of her "daughter Margery, when he come to be twenty years of age," and if he died before that, to be divided between his brothers William and Richard.

In her rebellion to her mother's ruling, Margery had a precedent in the case of her aunt Elizabeth, daughter

of the judge, whose mother (misnamed Agnes) found a match in a daughter whose spirit was at least as strong as her own.

It was the custom of the day, apparently, for the parent birds to expel their offspring from the nest as soon as they were fully fledged, and Dame Agnes, even as a widow, had no mind to be left with an unmarried daughter on her hands, while Elizabeth, on her part, had no idea of marrying to please her mother without also pleasing herself. She rejected several eligible suitors, and was eventually sought in marriage by a man who found favour in her mother's eyes, Stephen Scrope, a step-son of no less a personage than Sir John Fastolfe. To bring about this alliance, Agnes "laboured" to the best of her ability. Her methods may appear strange at first, though a further examination of her motives discovers an amount of worldly wisdom worthy of her already well-proved generalship. Elizabeth was confined to her room, and forbidden to speak with any one, even with the servants, while her mother beat her religiously every morning in the vain hope of breaking down her obstinacy and gaining her acceptance of Stephen's suit.

Elizabeth Clere writes to John Paston, who is studying the law in London town:—

"Hyr head is broke in severall places . . . and she was never in soe grate sorrow as sche is now-a-days wherefore sche preyeth me that I sould sende you a letter of hyr hevynes and pray you be a goode Brothyr to hir as her trust is in yow."

"Cosen," goes on Elizabeth's champion unblushingly, "it is told me ther is a goodly man att your Inne of whych the Fader dyed litte if ye thincke that hee wer better for hir than Scroope it would be labored, but give Scroope a goodlie answer that hee bee not put of tyl ye bee sure of a better, and I prey you brene this letter for an my cosyn yowre Moder knew that I sent you this letter sche wold never love me."

A wise request, which was, however, disregarded, for John did not heed her "preyer," nor burn her letter, luckily for us, or we should have lost a vivid picture of contemporary manners. But possibly he was "goode

Brothyr" to the poor girl, for Stephen Scrope presently retired from the field, whether by John's advice or in high dudgeon at not being allowed to catch even a glimpse of the lady he had come to woo, history does not relate. In denying him permission to wait upon her daughter until the matter should be concluded, Dame Agnes's astute wisdom was probably not at fault, for in a letter complaining of his father's meanness to him in his youth, Scrope tells how he "took a sicknesse that kept him thirteen or fourteen years ensuing, whereby I am disfigured in my person and shall be till I dye."

This misfortune, added to the fact that, though a courteous and cultivated gentleman far in advance of most of his friends, he was a widower with one daughter, and "nigh upon 50 years of age," did not make him a suitor likely to inflame a young girl's fancy.

Another widower is suggested, and John is charged to find out about his "livelode." This apparently is unsatisfactory, and Margaret Paston writes piteously to her husband begging him to try again and help his mother to

"get his sustre a gode marriage for it seemeth by my Moder's langage that she would never so fayn be delyvered of hir as she woll now.

"And I prey you to wete . . . that sche (Elizabeth) dysyreth if it plese yow to geve the jantlyman that ye knowe of seche langage that he myght fele by you that ye will be well willing of ye mater and that this tyme it sall be yay or nay for her Moder has no fantasy therein but that itt sall come to a jape."

Apparently the dilatory John at last woke up to his responsibilities, for practically at this same date his mother, Agnes, gives him profuse thanks for having "laboured to get Sir John Oldhall" for his sister, promising that "soe his londes stand clere" that the girl was "well willed thereto."

But the ungrateful Elizabeth slipped once more out of the toils of matrimony, and eventually, some years later, when she must have become the despair of her

friends, she married Robert Poynings, a gallant fellow, who had been out in the Cade Rebellion, and had rescued a servant of Sir John Fastolfe from death in the camp at Blackheath.

Possibly it was for the sake of this same Robert that Elizabeth declined so many suitors, and fell so deeply under her mother's displeasure; but if so, her happiness was short-lived, for Poynings fell at the second battle of St. Albans in 1461, and their lands were seized by the Crown.

John and Margaret's two sons, John, dubbed by their family the Elder and the Younger, stand out boldly from the picture the letters conjure up for us. A delightful pair of brothers they were. The younger John, full of admiration and affection for his "big brother," appealing to him on all questions of worldly wisdom, but showing himself to be infinitely the stronger character of the two, on which Sir John was often not too proud to lean.

Brave, gay, rash, irresolute, and irresponsible, John the Elder roamed about, alternating between France and England, the companion of kings and courtiers, fighting when fortune led him to a battle-field, falling in and out of love, never apparently knowing his own mind, yet not disdaining his opportunities. His long standing engagement with Mistress Anne Haute, the sister of Richard Haute, of Ightham Mote in Kent, and kinswoman of Lord Rivers and Elizabeth Woodville, ended in a parting apparently by mutual consent, and Sir John died unmarried in 1489, having interested himself sedulously in finding partners for his younger brother, but failing signally in the management of his own affairs.

The younger John, on the contrary, wooed and won his wife, Margery Brews, with quite a touch of romance, for Mistress Margery was very honestly and unmistakably in love with him. Her parents made some show of opposition, but Margery rebelled, and her mother wrote to John that Valentine's day was at hand, "when every bird

chooseth himself a mate," and bade him to her house on the eve of the "lover's festival."

John accepted the invitation with due alacrity, and her father's objection proving to be "a simple oak that was cut down at the first stroke," the course of true love began to run smooth. Margery wrote him charming letters, calling him her "beloved Valentine," and vowed she would have married him "had he possessed only half the livelode he had."

THEIR HOMES

Paston

Paston, the little obscure Norfolk village within sound of the sea, from which the family took their name, was their first "home." William, the judge, who bought the manor, probably first called his dwelling the "Hall." Of this house there is no stone left upon another, but the parish church enshrines their memory in monuments of stone. An altar tomb, and recumbent effigy of Katharine, wife of Sir Edmund Paston (1629), and two brasses of Erasmus, son of Sir William, who died in his father's lifetime, remain; while the poor of the parish have two cottages and 8a. 1r. 20p. of land, left by Sir William Paston in 1620. The present Hall contains a portrait of this Knight in steeple-crowned hat and ruff.

Gresham

Gresham Castle, to which "Squier" John took his bride, Margaret Mautby, is supposed to have been originally built by the Stutervilles. It was 150 feet square, with a round tower 36 feet in diameter in each corner, and surrounded by a moat. It was once the property of the Bacons, and Sir Edmund Bacon had a licence from Edward II. to embattle his manor-house. It fell by marriage into the hands of a son of Chaucer, the poet, who sold it to Judge Paston.

Sir William Paston, Knt.

In those days of party strife and civil war at home, and bloody wars abroad, owners of landed property had literally to hold their possessions at the point of the sword, and in 1448 Gresham was wrested from the Pastons by a violent and dastardly attack upon the house, in the absence of its master, by a certain Robert Hungerford, who, by virtue of having married a daughter of Sir William Moyleyns, now raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Moyleyns, laid claim to the whole of the Moyleyns inheritance.

He surrounded the place—

"with a riotous people to the nombre of a thousand persones with blanket bendes[1] of a sort as riseres ageyn your pees arrayed in maner of werre, with curesse, brigaunders, jakks, salettes, gleyfes, bowes, arowes, pavys, gonnes, pannys with fier and teynes brennyng therein, long cromes to drawe down houses, ladders, pikoys, with which they myned down the walles and long trees with which thei broke up yates and dores."

Truly a formidable array of arms wherewith to evict one poor lady and her twelve dependants. But by their assistance the mob knocked down the walls, tore up the gates, and having undermined Margaret's chamber, they apparently "smoked her out" with their pans of fire, and carried her forcibly off the premises before they proceeded to rifle the house of its treasures.

To recover his manor John Paston presented a petition to Parliament, and "by grace of the King re-entered there in 1451."

Caister Castle

Of all John Paston's "londes" and "manours," Caister was the place he loved the best, and which he and his family made the greatest sacrifice to retain.

There were many among the great ones in the land who could not forgive Sir John Fastolfe for leaving it to him, even though they had no claim on it themselves.

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1 The "blanket bendes" were probably blanched wands or "bents," not an unknown weapon of rural warfare.

The castle, with its strong defences, standing as it did not far from the sea, on the barren coast two and a half miles from Yarmouth, was, in those warlike days, indeed "a fair jewell to have at neede." After John's death the Duke of Norfolk, in whose household the younger John had lived for some years, and whose guest Sir John had often been, saw no wrong in laying siege to it in the summer of 1469. The castle was gallantly defended for some weeks by the younger brother, while Sir John, careless and reckless as usual, refused to believe his mother's warnings; and the garrison, unable to hold out any longer without assistance from without, surrendered on the 26th of September, rather more than a year later.

As the result of strenuous wire-pulling in high places, the duke evacuated the castle, and it came once more into the Pastons' possession, only to be retaken in the following year, while the defenders of the stronghold were charged with felony for killing men at the siege!

Through the next three years, Sir John was making untiring efforts to recover his lost castle. Lord Scales, to whose cousin, Anne Haute, he had become engaged, interested himself on his behalf, and the Duchess of Norfolk interceded with her lord, and on the 27th of May, 1476, Sir John writes from London to his mother in Norwich to tell her that his—

"mates lakkythe noo thinge but the privy seals for the Kyng hath promysed me as mouche as I wolde he should fullefille and alle the Lordes, Juges, and Sergaunts have afermed my title goode."

And so, after much toil and trouble and expense, Caister was secured as far as could be to the Paston family, and thriftless John, if he squandered most of his "livelode," at least left this solid memorial to his name.

Appleton

William White, in his *History of Norfolk*, calls Appleton "a decayed parish," eight miles north by north-east of Lynn.

The Pastons had a mansion there, which was burnt down in 1707, to the great danger of the family, who were in their beds when the conflagration was discovered; and it was never rebuilt, neither was the church, which has long been a ruin.

In 1661, Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Edward Paston, of Appleton, married Sir Henry Bedingfield, of Oxburgh, and the estate passed into his family. A century and a half later another Sir Henry Bedingfield married another Paston, Margaret Anne, only child and heiress of Edward, the last of the Pastons of Paston, and her husband assumed the additional surname and arms of Paston.

Hellesden

One more fight for their own, one more eviction, and we leave this courageous family in full and tranquil possession of the house they were the last to vacate—Oxnead.

The story of the siege of Hellesden is too long to tell here, and is not unlike the assault on Gresham, only on a larger scale. Margaret (Mautby) is again the heroine of the occasion. Her husband, John, was undergoing his last imprisonment in London in 1465, when the Duke of Suffolk set up a claim to the manor of Drayton, in the adjoining parish, also Paston land.

Margaret had left the comparative security of Caister Castle to collect the rents at Hellesden, and do what she could to curb the aggressions of Suffolk's people.

The parishes of Hellesden and Drayton lie on the north bank of the Wensum, about two or three miles from Norwich. On the opposite side of the river is Costessey, then belonging to the Duke of Suffolk.

Across this insignificant stream the hostile parties watched each other jealously. They captured and held each other's cattle, and committed the usual small depredations which are part and parcel of petty warfare.

Suffolk tried to compromise, but Margaret held firm, and received her reward in a letter from her absent husband.

"In goode Faithe," he wrote, "Ye acquit yow selfe ryght well and discreetly and hertily to yowre worschip and myne, and to the shame of your adversaries."

Margaret summoned young John to her assistance. He came with a small following, and some attempts at treaty were made by their foes. But the terms pleased neither mother nor son—they resisted—and the duke's people came in great numbers and took possession, stripped the house of all they could take away with them, and hewed and hacked the rest to pieces, completely wrecking the whole place, a few fragments of which are to be seen to-day.

Oxnead

On the east bank of the Bure, two miles from the little town of Aylsham, stands Oxnead Hall. Though but a few hundred yards off the main road, a belt of beeches hides from view the old red-brick manor-house with tall outside chimneys, once finished with fine mouldings like its neighbours at Barningham and Spixworth, but now surmounted by the homely chimney-pot.

Two low brick gate-houses and pillars support the gate that admits to what is now the stable yard. Opposite the stables is a small orchard, and between it and the churchyard a narrow strip of kitchen garden. A row of limes divides this from the terraced flower garden, in which stands all that remains of Oxnead Hall.

The long, straight ivy-covered building is only one room deep (though its walls are three feet thick), with a narrow passage running all its length. Above the ground floor a row of bedrooms correspond with the rooms below, and above them again are a suite of lean-to attics, approached by separate staircases from either end of the house. The rooms have open beams across their ceilings, and all the doors are stained oak of strangely rough workmanship.

The garden is literally honeycombed with subterranean passages, once the cellars of the great E-shaped mansion built by Sir Clement, the admiral, in Tudor times, of which nothing remains but the foundations, over which the carefully kept turf grows unevenly to-day, and some ruined arches and corner-stones that crop up promiscuously here and there.

Below the rising ground on which the old hall stands is the corn-mill, which has been grinding patiently on through the centuries which have elapsed since Dame Agnes took up her abode, and played the inflexible autocrat there. Its wheels are turned, as of yore, by the sluggish, reed-fringed stream that moves slowly through the marshy meadows.

A little above the mill the river is spanned by a couple of brick and stone bridges, with a single arch humped in the middle, as all the marshland bridges are, to admit the passing under them, with lowered masts and furled sails, of the wherries that come up from Wroxham and Coltishall.

In 1442, John Kemp, Archbishop of York, granted an indulgence of a hundred days' pardon to all persons who would contribute towards the repair or new building of these bridges.

Sir Clement Paston, sixth of the name, was perhaps the most unequivocably successful man of the family. With him appears to have dawned a short lived period of wealth. Before his day, though high in Court favour, and possessing, undoubtedly, a large extent of land, the Pastons had been comparatively poor, in great straits sometimes for a few pounds; for, to judge from their experiences, the landlords of the fifteenth century found it almost as difficult to get a fair rent for their farms as we do to-day; but Sir Clement had plenty of money, and to spare.

It was he whom Henry VIII. named his "champion," of whom Queen Mary spoke as "her gallant seaman," and whom Queen Elizabeth quaintly dubbed "her father."

The crowning event of his seafaring life is recorded on his tomb in Oxnead Church, in an epitaph of much originality:—

> "A Pere of France, in spite of all his betters,
> He took in fight, and brought him home in fetters."

This hapless prisoner was the French Admiral, Baron de Blanchard, whom Sir Clement captured after a fierce engagement with the French fleet. And so does history repeat itself! He kept him in durance vile at Caister Castle, just as Sir John Fastolfe had done many years before with his French captive, the Duke of Alençon, till he had paid a ransom of 7,000 crowns.

It was a hundred years later, in the time of Sir Clement's great-great-nephew, Sir Robert, that King Charles II. and his Queen paid a visit to Oxnead, and Sir Robert, not content with the proportions of the grand "new house," built on a banqueting hall, in which the better to entertain his royal guests. Miss Strickland, in her history of the *Queens of England*, gives an account of this visit, and mentions that James Duke of York, the Dukes of Monmouth, Richmond, and Buckingham, with divers lords, were of the company, and that the Queen had among the ladies of her suite the Duchesses of Richmond, Buckingham, and Monmouth, seven bed-chamber women, and four maids-of-honour.

Not long afterwards William Paston (Sir Robert's eldest son) married Lady Charlotte Boyle, the daughter of the King and Lady Shannon, and their first child was born in the Palace at Whitehall, the King and Lady Shannon standing sponsors. One wonders if young Paston first met his bride among the Queen's maids at Oxnead!

This hospitality gained a peerage for Sir Robert, who was soon afterwards created Earl of Yarmouth.

The subsequent history of the Paston family is not unlike that of many another whom Royalty has delighted to honour. Services rendered, and rewarded with titles and other marks of royal favour; money spent in raising troops, and lives lost in the service of their country: a short brilliant period of splendour and extravagance, and then a crash, a fall! The race dies out for want of an heir, and the estates are sold to pay the last survivor's debts.

All this befell Oxnead when the second Earl of Yarmouth died in 1732, and the place became the property, by purchase, of Lord Anson; thus (and this would perhaps have consoled old Sir Clement!) it passed once more into the hands of a "great sea lord." He, however, never lived there, and, having no son, left it to his nephew, who allowed it to fall into decay.

In 1836 all the household effects were put up to auction. The neighbouring squires flocked to the sale, and the result was that many of the once prized treasures of the family are still in existence not so very many miles from their original home.

The fountain that stood in the "Pleasaunce," with its accompanying stone figures, still plays in the beautiful gardens at Blickling. A small portrait in oils on wood of Queen Elizabeth, which she had possibly given to her "father" while on a visit to Oxnead, as well as two miniatures on copper, still hang in the drawing-room at Spixworth Hall; and there are other things in other country houses around saved from the wreck of what was once one of the noblest houses in the county.

The lands and manors of the Pastons were sold at this time, and the "new" hall was allowed to fall into decay. The "friscetting" (banqueting) hall apparently survived the latest; but this high hall, where once the merry monarch feasted and the loving-cup went round, has gone the way of the rest, and the green turf covers it all; while below the present garden, in meadows that

were once a deer park, the cattle feed, and the barn-door fowls strut impertinently along the raised bank of what was once a terrace walk, where doubtless the Court ladies, in hoops and satins, with their becurled and bedoubleted gallants, paced to and fro, and looked down on the pleached alleys and sparkling fountains, or watched the laden barges moving lazily up the river.

Of those "faire parterres" nothing remains; only some crumbling walls and a handsome gateway that led from one enclosure to the other, mark the spot "where once a garden smiled."

But Oxnead Hall, maimed and battered as it is, must be for ever associated with the romance and loyalty of the brave old Norfolk family who lived there for so many generations.

THE TWO NORFOLK LAUREATES

By James Hooper

1. JOHN SKELTON, King's Orator and Versifier

"Nay Skelton wore the laurell wreath
And past in schools ye knoe,
A poet for his arte,
Whoes judgment suer was hie,
And had great practies of the pen
His works they will not lie;
His terms to taunts did lean,
His talke was as he wraet:
Full quick of witte, right sharp of words,
And skilful of the staet.
Of reason riep and good,
And to the hastfull mynd
That did disdain his doings still
A skornar of his kind."

—*Churchyard* (*c.* 1520-1604).

NORFOLK has bred few poets; it is, therefore, curious that two men of the county stand on the roll of English laureates—John Skelton and Thomas Shadwell. Skelton's birthplace is uncertain, but Blomefield claims him, on inadequate grounds, as a native of Diss. Certain it is, however, that the arms of Skelton, "A fesse between three fleurs-de-lis or," occur on a brass at Frenze Church, adjoining Diss, as well as at Norwich and other places in the county. He was born about 1460, and calls Cambridge his *alma parens;* there he probably graduated M.A. in 1484, though a few years later he was laureated at Oxford, for

Caxton, in the preface to his translation of the Eneid in 1490, wrote: "I praye Mayster John Skelton late created poete laureate in vnyuersite of Oxenforde to oversee and correcte this sayd booke." As poet-laureate to Henry VIII., Skelton was the last who bore the title in its primary signification as a university degree; proud enough he was, too, of his singing robes of white and green with the name of Calliope, muse of epic poetry, worked upon them in silk and gold. His fame for liberal learning was so great that he was chosen about 1498 as tutor to Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., and Erasmus himself did not hesitate to call him *Britannicarum Literarum Lumen et Decus.* It was in 1498 that Skelton passed rapidly through the successive stages of subdeacon, deacon, and priest (March 31st, April 14th, and June 9th), with title from the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces, near the Tower of London, and for some years afterwards seems to have lived the life of a courtier. Many passages in his works bear witness to his conversance with the chances and changes of such an existence:—

> "Bone Aventure may brynge you in such case
> That ye shall stonde in favoure and in grace."

Pity it is that Skelton's treatise, *Speculum principis*, written to forward his princely pupil in "all the demenour of princely astate" has perished.

About 1501, for taking a wife, says Dyce, Skelton was suspended by the bloody-minded and impure Bishop Nix, at the instigation of the friars, chiefly the Dominicans, whom the poet had severely handled. He seems also to have been imprisoned at this period, for, as one of his biographers says, preferring to obey the moral rather than the ecclesiastical law, his name was loaded with disgrace, and "Merry Skelton being a priest, and having a child by his wife, everyone cried out:

> "O! Skelton hath a child, fie on him!"

The exact date of Skelton's institution to the Rectory of Diss has not been ascertained; an entry in the Diocesan registers shows that, on August 16th, 1498, Peter Greves was presented to the living by Robert Fitz Walter, Viscount Egremond. Then follows a blank, and, most irritatingly, nothing but the name Johannis Skelton, after which: "Tho' Clerk, presented by Robert Fitz Walter, July 17th, 1529, in place of Master John Skeltoune, vacant by death." Milton, treating of "writers of infection" in *Areopagitica*, says: "I name not him for posterities sake, whom Harry the 8 nam'd in merriment his Vicar of Hell." Professor Hales suggests that Skelton is here referred to, the jocular monarch meaning Vicar of Hell = Dis = Diss.

Skelton's literary output was large, and covered a wide range; but the palmary interest of it centres in his ferocious attacks upon Wolsey, "unsurpassed in pre-Reformation literature for direct and merciless ridicule, and of satire against the great cardinal." In his earlier days Skelton was one of Wolsey's eulogists, but Mr. Lee, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, suggests (quite hypothetically) that the cardinal probably scorned his advances. Whatever the cause, Skelton attacked the great Churchman with reckless audacity—foul-mouthed abuse Wolsey's apologists term it—which did not invite, but compelled, reprisals. To evade the cardinal's long arm the poet secured a safe retreat in the sanctuary at Westminster, at the hands of that "good old father," Abbot Islip. There Skelton remained till his death, June 21st, 1529, writing epitaphs, it is said, to be hung over the royal tombs. Here is a curious picture of him by a contemporary writer:—

"Skelton satte in the corner of a Piller with a Frostie bitten face, frownyng, and is scante yet cleane cooled of the hotte burning Cholour kindeled againste the cankered Cardinall Wolsey; wrytyng many sharp *Distichons* with blodie penne against hym, and sente them by the infernal riuers Styx, Flegiton, and Acheron, by the Feriman of helle, called Charon, to the saied Cardinall."

The combative poet was buried in the chancel of St. Margaret's, Westminster, with this admirably concise epitaph: "Joannes Skeltonus, Vates Pierius, hic situs est."

Space cannot be given here to furnish adequate samples from Skelton, termed by Mr. Churton Collins "one of the most versatile and essentially original of all our poets"—a verdict entirely agreed with by so good a judge as Mr. Birrell. In the rough rush of his "breathless rhymes" Skelton was, indeed, a masterful "maker," but he has moments of tenderness, and, like Chaucer and Burns, loved the daisy, as shown in the lines to Maistres Pennell:—

"Ennewed your coloure
Is lyke the dasy flowre
After the Aprile showre.
Sterre of the morowe graye
The blossome on the spraye
The freshest flowre of Maye."

Skelton's Norfolk associations come out in several of his poems, notably in the "Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe, slain by Gyb, our cat savage, among the Nones Blake," or Benedictine nuns of Carrow Priory, at the southern extremity of Norwich. The lamentation is put in the mouth of Jane Scrope, probably a pupil at the priory, where for centuries the nuns gave instruction to the daughters of the local nobles and gentry. At the end of the poem Skelton belauds Mistress Joan in Latin and English:—

"Candida Nais erat
Formosior ista Joanna est;
Docta Corinna fuit,
Sed magis ista sapit."

or thus:

"It wold make any man
To forget deadly syn
Her fauor to wyn;
For this most goodly floure,
This blossom of fressh coloure
So Jupiter me socoure,
She flourysseth new and new
In beaute and vertew."

Skelton's editor, Dyce, maintains that this curious poem exhibits "fertility and delicacy of fancy, graceful sportiveness, and ease of expression."

It is worth noting that, on the dissolution of the monasteries, Carrow Priory was granted to Sir John Shelton, of an ancient Norfolk family, who had a magnificent hall at Shelton, some twelve miles south of Norwich. Moreover, the names of Shelton and Skelton appear sometimes to have been used indiscriminately.

At Diss Skelton had his troubles, for, in an odd "treatise" of two knaves of Diss, John Jayberd and Adam Uddersal, he sarcastically styles the former the "Holy Patriarke of Dys," malicious, false-hearted, double-tongued, who—

> "By the Holy Rood
> Dyd never man good:
> Fill the blak bowle
> For Jayberde's sowle."

Uddersal, the "Holy Baillyve of Dys," fares no better.

"Ware the Hawke" is a poem scarifying a beneficed parson who hawked in the laureate's church at Diss:—

> "A Priest unreverent
> Straight to the Sacrament
> He made his Hawke to fly
> With hugeous showte and cry,
> The hye alter he strypt naked."

The "fonde frantike falconer" swore, with horrible oaths, that ere he left the church his hawk should eat a pigeon with its blood falling raw upon the altar stone.

Many further outrages are detailed, and no wonder the rector said that such losels made the church of small authority. The incident, horrible as it seems, is more intelligible when we recall Du Cange's assertion that in many French cathedrals the deans entered on their dignities girt with a sword, and a hawk on the fist, and that at Nivernois priests assisted at mass without canonical vestments, carrying a hawk. The lord of Sassay

held lands by placing a hawk on the high altar of the church of Evreux, while the priest celebrated the service, booted and spurred, to the beat of drum instead of the organ.

It was, no doubt, as the "King's Versifier" that Skelton wrote for the amusement of Bluff Hal and his courtiers such broadly farcical pieces as the "Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng," who kept the "Running Horse" at Leatherhead, within six miles of Henry's newly-built palace of Nonsuch. The curious old inn still survives, and the faded picture of the fearsome ale-wife on the gabled front excites the wonder and curiosity of many a rambler amongst the fair Downs of Surrey. To give even an epitome of the judgments of critics upon Skelton and his work would be to write a satire on criticism. To cite a few—Churchyard calls him "most pleasant every way, as poets ought to be"; the stately Puttenham dismissed him as "a rude railing rhymer"; Webbe describes him as "a pleasant conceited fellow of a very sharp wit." To come to modern times, Pope characterises Skelton as "beastly"; Miss Strickland calls him "this ribald and ill-living wretch," and gratuitously suggests that his corrupt teaching bred King Henry's "grossest crimes"; but this same finikin lady termed Shadwell "the loathsome laureate." On the other hand, the austere Wordsworth pronounced Skelton to be "a writer deserving of far greater attention than his works have hitherto received"; Coleridge says: "Old Skelton's *Phyllyp Sparowe* is an exquisite and original poem." The same pleasing *antitheta* occur in foreign criticism. Taine introduces our poet as "a clown, a tavern triboulet, composer of little jeering and macaronic verses"—and this of the man who reminds Mr. Churton Collins more of Rabelais than any author in our language! Take then, as counterweight, this of Ten Brink:—

"Above all, Skelton was one of the humanists, full of enthusiasm for classical culture, full of reverence for the sovereign importance of

learning, and fully conscious of being a richly-endowed and eminently learned son of the Muses. Self-denial, a secluded life, and asceticism were foreign to his nature."

Then, as to his coarseness, the highly respectable Southey declares that Skelton's buffooneries, like those of Rabelais, were thrown out as a tub for the whale; for unless Skelton had written thus for the coarsest palates, he could not have poured forth his bitter and undaunted satire in such perilous times.

Isaac D'Israeli considered the Skeltonical short verse wild and airy—"the velocity of his verse has a carol of its own. The chimes ring in the ear, and the thoughts are flung about like coruscations."

To the general reader Skelton is hardly known, and his work is, almost necessarily, unfamiliar even to most of those who genuinely love English poetry. The classical edition of his works is that issued in two volumes in 1843, with notes, and some account of the author and his writings by the Rev. Alexander Dyce. Of this, prompted by an article of Southey's in the *Quarterly Review* for 1814, Professor Skeat affirms that few editions of any English poet's works are so thoroughly satisfactory.

A handy little selection from Skelton's poems, with glossary, etc., by Mr. H. Williams, a Professor in the University of Tasmania, was issued in 1902 (Isbister, 3s. 6d.).

Few competent critics will dispute Mr. Lee's statement that

"Skelton's untrammelled vigour and his frequent recourse to French and Latin phrases, as well as to the vernacular dialect of East Anglia, left their impress on the language and increased its flexibility."

2. THOMAS SHADWELL, Laureate

If, as the report went, Mr. Gladstone made it his duty to study all the works of all the laureates when the question of appointing a successor to Tennyson came up, how much we should like to know the judgment of that

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somewhat austere statesman respecting Shadwell. That Dryden's mercilessly scotched opponent was born in Norfolk there can be no doubt, but there is a curious uncertainty about the precise birthplace. Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, writing less than fifty years after Shadwell's death, says Bromehill House, which arose out of the ruins of a priory of Austin Canons there, was held by the Pecks, Shadwells, etc., and "Tho' Shadwell, Esq., Poet Laureat is said to be (*sic*) born here." This agrees with the record at Gonville and Caius College: "Thomas Shadwell, son of John Shadwell, of Broomehill, near Brandon, Norfolk. Born there. Educated at home under Mr. Roberts, 5 years, and at Bury St. Edmunds, under Mr. Stephens, 1 year. Age 14. Admitted pensioner to the bachelors' table Dec. 17, 1656. Surety Mr. William Naylore." But in the brief life of the poet by his son, Sir John Shadwell, it is stated that the laureate was born at Santon Hall, a seat of his father's. Broomehill was long since absorbed in the parish of Weeting, and the little parish of Santon adjoins the latter. Unfortunately no record of Shadwell's birth can be found in existing registers; his biographers generally give the year as 1640, but this seems to clash with the college record, and, to increase the confusion, on the cenotaph in Westminster Abbey, erected by Sir John Shadwell, M.D., it is stated that the laureate died on the 20th November, 1692, aged 55 years.

John Shadwell, the poet's father, was admitted a member of the Middle Temple, one of his sponsors being Thomas Shadwell, of the elder, or Staffordshire, branch of the Shadwells, which had, it was boasted, enjoyed an estate of five hundred pounds per annum for above three hundred years without any honours or public business. The Westminster epitaph, too, states that the laureate came of an ancient Staffordshire family. His father seems to have been a substantial country gentleman, though,

as a stout Royalist, he sustained many reverses in the Commonwealth time. He flits before us vaguely as in the commission of the peace for the counties of Middlesex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, as Recorder of Galway and Receiver-General, then as Attorney-General at Tangier, which was in English occupation from 1662 till 1683. In the parish register of Oxburgh, Norfolk, is this record: "John Shadwel, buried 2 March, 1684."

Thomas Shadwell was destined to follow in his father's footsteps as a lawyer, but soon wearied of the "dry drudgery at the desk's dead wood," went touring on the continent, and then associated with the literary coteries of the day, and graduated among the wits. His early poetical attempts are less than mediocre, but with his first play, *The Sullen Lovers or The Impertinents*, adapted from Molière, and printed in 1668, he fairly started as playwright. In the preface he says that he endeavoured to represent variety of humours, "which was the practice of Ben Jonson, whom I think all dramatic poets ought to imitate, though none are like to come near." Pepys saw this play when it first came out—"having many good humours in it, but the play tedious, and no design at all in it." Shadwell's admiration of Ben Jonson was superlative, and, later in his diary, Pepys notes that he saw "*The Silent Woman*, the best comedy, I think, that ever was wrote," and sitting by Shadwell, the poet, he was big with admiration of it. In the following year appeared *The Royal Shepherdesse*, and again Mr. Secretary Pepys makes his record.

"25 Feb., 1669. To the Duke of York's house, and there before one, but the house infinite full, where, by-and-bye, the King and Court come, it being a new play, or an old one new vamp'd by Shadwell . . . but the silliest for words and design and everything else that I ever saw in my whole life, there being nothing in the world pleasing in it but a good martiall dance of pikemen, where Harris and another do handle their pikes in a dance to admiration; but I was never less satisfied with a play in my life."

It is not known when Shadwell married, but his wedded life seems to have been happy, and, in the most dissolute age in the annals of England, he figures in none of the scandalous legends of the day, as Mr. Saintsbury, no very lenient biographer, informs us. His wife, Anne, was daughter of Thomas Gibbs, of Norwich, proctor and public notary. No doubt this gentleman is the Thomas Gibbs who was married to Ann Keeps at the church of SS. Simon and Jude, Norwich, May 28th, 1638, for in the same register we find that Ann, daughter of Thomas Gibbs, was baptized February 17th, 1644. Name, date, and place all tend to the conclusion that this girl became Shadwell's wife, and acted in his plays. In *Timon of Athens*, licensed by Roger L'Estrange in 1677, a Mrs. Shadwell, as well as a Mrs. Gibbs, took parts. If, as seems pretty certain, it was Ann Keeps who became the mother of the laureate's wife, it is worth noting that in 1633 one of the two sheriffs of Norwich was Richard Keepis, Cupis, or Kepus—the three forms given in Mr. le Strange's *Norfolk Official Lists*. In the *Norfolk Rate Book*, 1633-34, edited by Mr. Walter Rye, Richard Keepas stands as one of the churchwardens of "St. Simonds," and the largest ratepayer but one in the parish. Hence it is evident that Mistress Ann Shadwell, like St. Patrick, came of decent people. In his will Shadwell left everything to his wife, and appointed her sole executrix, "intreating her to reserve all for my children after her death as I doubt not that she will havinge been a diligent and carefull and provident woman and very indulgent to her children as ever I knew." Then comes this tender and home-like touch. "But principally I recommend my poore little daughter Ann the greatest comfort to mee of all my children to her p'ticular care." Shadwell executed the will in his own house at Chelsea in the autumn of 1690, and probate was granted to his widow December 3rd, 1692.

It is unfortunate for Shadwell's memory that he is chiefly known to the general reader through Dryden's vitriolic caricatures of him; first, in *Mac Flecknoe; or, A Satire on the True Blue Protestant Poet, T.S.*, and more savagely still, as Og, in the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel*. Dryden was laureate from 1670 till Shadwell succeeded him in 1688; and in 1674 Dryden and Shadwell, in conjunction with Crowne, malignantly criticised *The Emperor of Morocco*, by Elkanah Settle, the last poet laureate to the City of London, and a very inferior poet, though, oddly enough, both at Cambridge and London, he was then considered superior to Dryden. Two years later, in his preface to *The Humorists*, Shadwell refers to Dryden in warm terms: "my particular friend, for whom I have a very great respect, and whose writings I extremely admire; and though I will not say his is the best way of writing, yet I am sure his manner of writing is much the best that ever was." In 1678 Dryden wrote the prologue to Shadwell's *True Widow*, which, after their fierce quarrel, he gave to Mrs. Aphra Behn, in 1690, for her play, *The Widow Ranter*. A very curious coupling of Dryden and Shadwell occurs in a bantering pamphlet, which appeared in 1682, entitled: *A Modest Vindication of the Earl of Shaftesbury . . . concerning his being elected King of Poland.* In this Dryden is treated as of Shaftesbury's party, the Polish King's laureate: "Jean Drydenurtziz, our poet laureat, for writing panegyrics upon Oliver Cromwell, and libels against his present master, King Charles II. of England; Tom Shadworiski his deputy." But in *The Medal*, 1682, Dryden attacked Shaftesbury with a malignant ribaldry and falsehood, which excited bitter controversy; amongst the replies being Shadwell's *The Medal of John Bayes*, a rancorous and scurrilous attack. This immediately brought forth *Mac Flecknoe*, and, as has been said in Dryden's case, "political hatred gangrened a wound inflicted by literary rivalry."

Mac Flecknoe is a consummate masterpiece of shattering satire, in which Shadwell's large bulk, his opium eating, his Norwich drugget robe, his dulness, his lute playing, and his "Irish pen," were mercilessly ridiculed.

> "So Shadwell swore, nor should his vow be vain,
> That he till death true dulness would maintain."

That Shadwell was corpulent and something of a free liver is doubtless true, also that he was addicted to opium, for Nicholas Brady remarked: "he never took his dose of opium but he solemnly recommended his soul to God by prayer, as if he were then about to resign up his soul." Tradition says that Shadwell chiefly resented the imputation of being Irish, though his father was Recorder of Galway; in commenting on *Mac Flecknoe* Shadwell asserted that he was never more than three months in Ireland. As to the fling about his musical pretensions, he says, sensibly enough: "I must confess that that, and all other gentlemanlike exercises which I was capable of learning, my Father was at the charge of, and let the Libeller make the best of it." Curiously, too, Edward Browne, son of the great Sir Thomas, of Norwich, records in his journal (January 22nd, 1664): "I heard Dr. de Veau play excellently on the gittarre, and Mr. Shadwel on the lute."

Shadwell's recognised plays number seventeen, and range from the *Sullen Lovers* (1668) to *The Volunteers*, posthumously published in 1693, a biting satire on the greed and chicanery of the stock-jobbers of that day. It has an interesting dedication to the Queen Consort of William of Orange. Some of the plays were very popular, such as *The Squire of Alsatia*, written at Copt Hall, the Earl of Dorset's mansion in Essex (1688), and which largely suggested Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*. This play ran thirteen nights, the third bringing the author £130—"£16 more than any other poet ever did." There was, as Scott says, a semi-barbarous virulence of controversy

during the reign of Charles II., and it was aggravated by the quick changes of political and religious partizans. Mr. Saintsbury ungraciously dubs Shadwell "the chief literary bravo of the Protestant party," but this bravo was, at any rate, guiltless of the interested tergiversations which blot the character of Dryden, blotted still more by his loathsome and despicable comic characters. It is Macaulay who says that the latter was utterly destitute of the power of exhibiting human beings. "We are in a world where there is no humanity, no veracity, no sense of shame—a world for which any good-natured man would gladly take in exchange the society of Milton's devils." Nothing like this could be said of the Norfolk playwright, praised by Scott as an acute observer of nature, and whose plays were reckoned by Campbell among the best of the period of Charles II. And, as against Dryden's dirty puppets, we may adduce the opinion of a recent critic that some of Shadwell's women—

"for all their freedom of speech have a certain dignity and reserve of character not far removed from noble womanhood. Here and there they even display a touch of real elevation remote from Shadwell's times and literary ideals."

When the miserable *fainéant*, James II., quitted the throne in 1688, and Shadwell succeeded his traducer as poet laureate and historiographer royal, Dryden was greatly mortified; but Shadwell had had his bad time, and in the first year of his laureateship wrote with apparent honesty: "I never could recant in the worst of times, when my ruin was designed and my life was sought, and for near ten years I was kept from the exercise of that profession which had afforded me a competent subsistence; and surely I shall not now do it, when there is a liberty of speaking commonsense, which, though not long since forbidden, is now grown current." It was Shadwell's friend, the Earl of Dorset, who obtained him the laurel, saying: "he did not pretend to determine how great a poet Shadwell might be, but was sure he was an honest man."

Shadwell did not long enjoy his honours, for he died at his house in Chelsea, November 20th, 1692, and was buried in Chelsea Church, though his son, Sir John Shadwell, M.D., erected a monument to his memory in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey. Upon that his age is stated to have been 55 years, but Mr. G. A. Aitken, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says the inscription there is incorrect; certainly most biographers give his birthdate as about 1640, and Mr. Aitken himself 1642! But the original inscription for the abbey monument states that he was 52 years of age when he died, and this agrees with Sir John Shadwell's memoir, prefixed to his father's work (4 vols.), 1720.

In his comedies Shadwell set himself a definite plan. "For the Reformation of Fopps and Knaves," he says:—

"I think Comedy most useful, because to render Vices and Fopperies very ridiculous, is much a greater punishment than Tragedy can inflict upon 'em. There we do but subject 'em to hatred, or at worst to death; here we make them live to be despised and laugh'd at, which certainly makes more impression upon men than even death can do."

The same idea appears in the inscription suppressed by the clergy, "as being too great an encomium upon plays":

"Qui, inter cæteras Eruditionis dotes, Animum feliciter ad scribendum appulit. At hoc poesios proposuit munus, Ut quas fecisset Fabulas, Populares deriderent Ineptios, Moresque corrigerent profligatos, Ut delectarent simul et prodessent," etc.

The prepossessions of various writers have led them to depict Shadwell in the most opposite colours—the reiterated charge of dulness cannot be sustained, and Rochester, while coupling Wycherley and Shadwell as the only modern wits who touched upon true comedy, yet says, if the latter "had burnt all he wrote, and printed all he spoke, he would have had more wit and humour than any other poet." Brady (of Tate and Brady), in pronouncing Shadwell's funeral panegyric, said of him:

"His natural and acquired abilities made him very amiable to all who conversed with him, a very few being equal in the becoming qualities

which adorn and set off a complete gentleman: his very enemies, if he has now any left, will give him this character, at least if they knew him so thoroughly as I did."

Shadwell left two sons, Thomas and John. The former went to Ireland, and is believed to have held some legal appointment. The latter, born in London in 1670, became a celebrated physician, F.R.S., and knighted, in 1715. He died in 1747 and left one child, Catherine, who married Edward Allen, Esq.; descendants of these are still living.

Shadwell's daughter Anna married Anthony Oldfield, but is believed to have died childless.

NORFOLK WORTHIES

By The Editor

FEW counties can boast a greater claim to the possession of a number of distinguished sons, either by birth or residence, belonging to every section of the social scale, than can the County of Norfolk.

Passing by Queen Boadicea, and the great missionaries, Felix and Fursey, and St. Witburga, the daughter of good King Anna, whose merits have been recorded elsewhere, and who illumine the dim recesses of a past which seems the more remote in these busy days, so full of other interests than those which animated their lives, a crowd of names throng the mind, demanding more than a passing notice in these *Memorials of Old Norfolk.*

Among warriors, besides those like Earls Roger and Hugh Bigod and Bishop Henry le Despencer, of whom mention has also already been made, it behoves us not to pass by others who won fame for themselves on many a stricken field. One of the most renowned soldiers of the fourteenth century was Sir Robert Knollys, who lived at Sculthorpe. He rose from the rank of a common soldier, and became an eminent commander under Edward III. in the French Wars, serving with distinction under the Black Prince at Poictiers. In 1360 his wife, Constantia, a worthy consort, joined him in Brittany with forces that she had raised for his assistance, and in 1365 he took Auxerre and other districts in France for the

King of Navarre, and received many lands in Brittany for his services. In 1370 he again served in France, and in 1379 he was with John of Gaunt in Spain, being then a Knight of the Garter. For his services during the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 he received the manor of St. Pancras in London and had large estates in other parts of the country. Settling down in Sculthorpe in his old age, he rebuilt the church there and at Harpley, and died in his manor house there at the advanced age of 92 years. He was buried in the nave of the Carmelite Church in Fleet Street, which he had also rebuilt, by the side of his wife Constantia. "This lady," says Leland, "was of humble birth at Pontefract, in Yorkshire," and before her death she persuaded him to found Knollys' Almshouses in that town, instead of at Sculthorpe, as he had intended. "This was a college," Leland states, "with a hospital attached to it. Here was a master, with six or seven priests, and thirteen poor men and women, and it was valued at £180 per annum," or £3,600 of our money.

Another celebrated warrior of this age was Sir Simon de Felbrigge, standard-bearer of King Richard II., whose brass, representing him in full armour, and wearing the Insignia of the Garter, is in the nave of Felbrigg Church. This, with others in that church, and the splendid monumental brass in St. Margaret's Church, Lynn, to the memory of Robert Braunche, Mayor of the town in 1349 and again in 1359, constitute some of the finest examples of this style of workmanship to be found in England. This latter example is of Flemish workmanship, and is called "the Peacock Brass," because at the foot of the figures, and extending the whole width of the brass, a Royal Peacock feast is depicted, probably given to Edward III. in the latter year.

A famous Norfolker of the fourteenth century was Sir Robert de Salle, who began life as a "villein," but won his way to knighthood and honours. Of him

Froissart says that "he was of his body one of the biggest knights in all Englande," and the manner of his death shows that his strength and valour were exceptional. We find him in 1370 receiving £65 for his wages in the war, and for his men-at-arms and bowmen, *i.e.*, in the Limoges affair under the Black Prince, while already in 1369 he had purchased the manor and advowson of Oxnead near Aylsham, and when he died in the fight with the rebels under John Litester on Mousehold Heath he was a wealthy man, Warden of Norwich Castle, and, as Froissart says, "Knighte capitaine of the towne."

The circumstances of his death were dramatic in the extreme, as they are recorded by Froissart. The rebels thought that Sir Robert, having himself risen from the ranks, would be on their side, and invited him to go and speak with them, "Or els they would brenne the towne." Accordingly, he went forth alone and unarmed, save for his good sword. Having listened to their appeal, and refused their overtures, he turned to mount his horse and ride back to the town. But Froissart must speak for himself:

"Then they cryed all at hym, and sayde, Slee hym without mercy. When he hurde those wordes he let his horse go, and drue out a good Swerde and began to scrimysshe with them, and made a great place about hym, that it was a pleasure to beholde hym. There was non that durst approche neer hym. . . . He dyd there such Dedes of armes that it was marveyle to regarde, but there were mo than fourty thousande of these unhappy people, they shotte and cast at him, and he was unarmed. To saye truthe if he had been of yron or steele yet he must needes have been slayne. But yet or he dyed, he slewe XII out of hande, besyde them that he hurte. Finally he was stryken to the erthe, and they cutte of his Armes and Legges, and then strake his body all to peces."

The date of his death was June 17th, 1381.

Another famous Norfolker, of the fifteenth century, was Sir John Fastolfe, of Caister, near Yarmouth, the hero of the Battle of the Herrings in 1428, when he defeated the French, and succeeded in convoying a load of herrings in triumph to the English camp before Orleans. He is

supposed to have been the prototype of Shakespeare's Falstaff, but beyond the slight resemblance in the names there is little similarity between the exploits of these two "heroes."

During the Civil Wars, that stout old soldier, Sir Jacob Astley, of Melton Constable, ancestor of the present Lord Hastings, is found on the Royalist side. Like Sir Roger l'Estrange, and most of the gentry of the county, as was the case over the greater part of England, he could hardly have done otherwise. There were, indeed, some notable exceptions, such as the Earl of Manchester, Fairfax, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell himself, who was a nephew of the "Golden Knight" of Hinchinbrook, Sir Henry Cromwell, who had entertained James I. there on his entry into England, but these were in the minority.

Taking it as a broad generalization, we may say that the Royalists and Parliamentarians represented the conflict between the two opposing principles of authority and private judgment, represented by Catholicism and Protestantism, Church and Dissent, Anglicanism and Puritanism, the former of which had its chief strength in the country and among the families of gentle blood; the latter in the towns, among the shop-keeping and citizen classes; so much so, that in later times they became known as the Country and Town parties respectively, before the names of Tory and Whig, Conservative and Liberal, became fashionable, and, to a certain extent, in spite of the vicissitudes of time, and the changes which the twentieth century has brought, these distinctions still hold good.

Anyway, Sir Jacob Astley followed the fortunes of the King, and fought at Edgehill and Naseby. His alleged prayer before the former fight: "O God, Thou knowest I have to be very busy this day; if I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me," is probably as apocryphal

as that of the Dutchman before his execution: "O God, if there be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul," but, whether true or not, Sir Jacob was a fine old warrior, and did good service for his King, whom he survived till 1651.

He, like Sir Roger l'Estrange, was descended from an ancient family, a branch of which had long been settled in the county, and the descendants of both still worthily maintain the honours of their race. When the barony of Hastings, in abeyance since the thirteenth century, was revived in 1840, the claims of each of these families through two co-heiress were equal, but the matter was decided by the House of Lords in favour of the Astleys.

Sir Roger l'Estrange, the hero of the Siege of Lynn, was distinguished also as an author, journalist, and pamphleteer; he edited the works of Josephus, and survived till 1704.

Besides these doers of doughty deeds on shore, it is probably owing to her maritime situation, her extended coast-line, and the possession of the two important seaports of Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn, that Norfolk can boast of a distinguished series of naval heroes, concluding with the greatest of them all, and of all times and countries, Horatio Lord Nelson.

The earliest of Nelson's predecessors, belonging to Norfolk, in upholding the prowess of England on the sea, was Robert de Morley, Lieutenant of Norfolk, Constable of the Tower, and Admiral of England. He commanded the English fleet, in which John Perebourne, a burgess of Yarmouth, was also an admiral, in the great sea-fight at Sluys in 1340, when the English force of 240 ships, conveying King Edward III. on his intended invasion of France, met there the French fleet of 400 ships, assembled to oppose Edward's progress, and a furious battle ensued on June 13th, in which the French were entirely defeated with a loss of 230 ships and 30,000 men. It was the warriors of the Cinque Ports

who won this great battle, which all writers agree in describing as one of the most sanguinary and desperate sea-fights ever known, and in which the navy of Philip of Valois was annihilated; and not only was Edward III. freed from all further rivalry at sea, but the mastery of the English Channel was given to England for centuries. De Morley commanded the fleet in 1341, 1348, and 1354, and served in the French Wars on land also, being present at the Battle of Crécy in 1346.

The next on the roll of fame were Sir Christopher Myngs, or Minns, the hero of the second Dutch War (1665-1667), Sir John Narborough, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The two former were born in the north-western part of the county, close to the sea, and only a few miles from the birthplace of their great successor, Nelson, at a little hamlet called Cockthorpe, near the romantic ruins of Binham Priory; Nelson's birthplace being, as is well known, Burnham Thorpe. Sir Christopher Myngs was born in 1625, became a captain in the navy in 1653, in which year he captured a fleet of Dutch merchant vessels. He next served in the West Indies till 1664, returned home to be made Vice-Admiral and knighted, and met his death in the famous Battle of the North Foreland, which lasted from the 1st to the 4th of June, 1666. On the last day he was in command of the van of the English fleet, when he was mortally wounded in the neck and expired shortly afterwards. Under him Sir John Narborough (1640-1688), celebrated as a gallant officer and navigator, served in the same battle when he won his commandership, becoming Admiral in 1673. He led an expedition against the Corsairs of Tripoli and Algiers, who were the terror of the age, as all readers of *Robinson Crusoe* will remember, and taught them to respect the might of England, even in the degenerate days of Charles II., when, whatever else was neglected, the navy, at least, was a power, as old Samuel Pepys

testifies. Unfortunately, he was sent to St. Domingo to recover treasure from a wreck in 1688, where he caught fever and died.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, the last and greatest of this famous trio, was born in 1650, the son of a poor native of the hamlet of Cockley Cley, near Swaffham, in the heart of the county. But the love of the sea was in him, and he ran away from the shoemaker to whom he was apprenticed, in order to enter the navy. He served under Sir John Narborough, and took part in both his expeditions against the "Barbary Pirates," as the sea-robbers were called, commanding the boats at the burning of the ships in Tripoli Harbour in 1676, and continued in this service till 1688. He rose successively to be Rear-Admiral, Admiral of the White, and Lord High Admiral of England, under Queen Anne, in whose reign he took part with Rooke in the capture of Gibraltar, and the action off Malaga, 1704, and in the destruction of the French fleet at Toulon in 1707. In the latter year he was appointed to conduct a fleet from Gibraltar to England, but his ship was, unfortunately, lost on the Bishop and Clerk Rocks, Scilly Islands, and he himself, with his whole crew of 900 men, perished. His body was recovered and buried in Westminster Abbey, where the Queen caused a fine monument to be erected in his memory, and said of him that she had lost the finest seaman in her service.

With these examples before his eyes, it is not surprising that Nelson, in whom also the love of the sea was inborn, should have added yet further lustre to his county's annals, so that the names of Nelson and of Norfolk will be for ever inextricably entwined. The old rectory at Burnham Thorpe has been pulled down, and the church which he attended as a boy has been "restored"; but the memory of Nelson is there, as an abiding inspiration to all succeeding generations of his fellow-countrymen.

Among famous Churchmen, Bishop Herbert de Losinga and Bishop Henry le Despencer have been already referred to, but a greater than either was Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the author more than any other of that ecclesiastical compromise which has endured substantially to our own times, and is known as "The Reformation Settlement." The Archbishop, who, in his virtues and in his faults, was typical of so much that is characteristic of the English temperament, was the son of a "calenderer of stuffs," in the parish of St. Stephen's, Norwich. He was born in the year 1504, and received from his father the best education of the day, under private tutors, until he went up to Cambridge. There he became associated with the group of students known as "the Cambridge Reformers," and was a friend of Thomas Bilney, who was burnt at Norwich in 1531 for preaching against the Royal Supremacy, and of Bishop Hugh Latimer. Passing safely through the closing years of the reign of Henry VIII., notwithstanding his strenuous opposition to the spoliation with which the colleges were threatened, and the turbulent reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559, and held the See till his death in 1575. His last days were embittered by his controversy with the Puritans on the subject of "vestments," which arose out of the publication of the celebrated "Advertisements" in 1565.

Queen Elizabeth was in the habit of visiting the Archbishop at Lambeth,

"in respect of her favour to him that had been her mother's chaplain, and the story of her treatment of Mrs. Parker on one occasion there is well known. The Queen never approved of clerical marriage, though she tolerated it, and having been sumptuously entertained by the archbishop and his wife, she gave the former 'very special thanks,' and then, looking on his wife, 'and you,' saith she, 'madam I may not call you, mistress I am ashamed to call you, so as I know not what to call you, but yet I thank you.'"

In the church of St. Clement, Norwich, there is a monument to the Archbishop's father and mother, the latter of whom seems to have been connected with this parish, as it was "with one Benis, priest of the church," that she placed her son, when a boy, to learn reading.

A Dr. Crome, belonging to the Norfolk family of Crome, Grome, or Groom—the name being spelt in all three ways in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—in the neighbourhood of Docking (where the family still survives as Groom), was rector of St. Mary Aldermary in the reign of Henry VIII., and achieved the rare distinction of being called upon to recant four times, and yet died in peaceful possession of his church. An interesting account of Dr. Crome is given in the *Transactions* of The Royal Historical Society, vol. xix., pp. 295-304.

Two celebrated ecclesiastics of the seventeenth century were natives of Norfolk. John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, 1660-1672, was born at Norwich, in the parish of St. Andrew's, in 1594, and was educated at the Free School, formerly known as the Charnel House of the Priory, near the west end of the cathedral, after which he proceeded to Cambridge, and became a Fellow of Caius College. In 1635 he was appointed Master of Peterhouse, and, while holding that office, sent the Peterhouse Plate to Charles I. in 1642, for the purposes of his campaign, whereupon he was ejected by the Parliamentarians from his mastership, and retired to Paris, where he became chaplain to the Anglican Royalist refugees. On the Restoration he was appointed to the See of Durham, which he held for twelve years, during which time he spent £36,000 from the revenues of the see in buildings at Auckland and Durham, for the library at Durham, for scholarships at Norwich and Cambridge, for provision for his family, and in private charity. He was a member of the Savoy Conference, 1661, and was the author of several of the changes then made in the Prayer

Book. Cosin was a leader of the Anglican school of theology, to which the name of the High Church Party began then to be applied, and, with Archbishop Laud and Bishops Ken, Andrewes, and others, was a worthy forerunner of the Oxford movement of the nineteenth century.

The parishes of North Creake and Great Snoring both claim to have been the birthplace of John Pearson, Bishop of Chester, and author of *The Exposition of the Creed*, his father having been rector of both. The former contains the ruins of the beautiful Abbey of Creake, which was dissolved on the death of the last abbot, Giles Sherington, in 1506, owing to there being no convent left to elect a successor, and the lands and revenues reverted to the Crown. These were assigned by the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the King's mother, to Christ's College, Cambridge, which was of her foundation.

Great Snoring is noted for its fine Tudor manor house, now the rectory, which is one of the best examples of that style in the county.

Bishop Pearson was, according to Burnet, a better theologian than bishop, though the *Dictionary of National Biography* says of him, that he was "careful and painstaking in discharging his episcopal duties." The same authority declares that

> "the notes of the 'Exposition'—a mine of patristic and general learning—are at least as remarkable as the text, and form a complete *catena* of the best authorities upon doctrinal points. He was probably the ablest scholar and best systematic theologian among Englishmen of the seventeenth century. His learning and critical skill were greater than his originality."

Bishop Pearson was born in 1613, and died in 1686.

The parish of Heigham, now part of the city of Norwich, is noted as having been the residence of Bishop Hall, "the English Seneca," and author of the *Meditations*, on his ejection from the bishopric in 1647, till his death

in 1656. The house in which he resided, now known as the Dolphin Inn, still stands, and is an interesting old building.

The Howards, of which family are the Dukes of Norfolk, were long a power in the country. Of humble origin—for, as Mr. Walter Rye has shown, they were descended from an ancestor who was either a keeper of pigs, or a guardian of hedgerows, Hog-ward or Hey-ward—they won their way to the highest place, and during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries we find them associated with all the great events of English history.

Admiral Howard of Effingham, the hero of the victory over the Spanish Armada, was of this family. Since the seventeenth century their place in the county has been taken by the Townshends, Walpoles, Cokes, the head of which house is the present venerable Earl of Leicester, and others, although the Duke of Norfolk is still the premier peer of England.

With the seventeenth century the Townshend family began to come to the front in Norfolk. Old Roger Townshend, a lawyer of King's Lynn, in the reign of Elizabeth, received the estates which had belonged to Cokesford Priory on the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, to whom they had passed at the Dissolution, after the abortive conspiracy, in which he was involved, to put Mary Queen of Scots on the throne in 1571, and from that time the fortunes of the family rapidly grew, until in the reigns of the first two Georges it gave to England a succession of statesmen, and in the person of the fourth Viscount was advanced to the marquisate. Charles, second Viscount Townshend, is remembered for having introduced turnips and the three-yearly system of agriculture into England, and is nearly as celebrated as another great Norfolk agriculturist, "Coke of Norfolk," ancestor of the present Lord Leicester. The family seat is at Raynham.

Passing thus from the arts of war to those of peace, we must not forget the most renowned of all the Norfolk families, that of the Walpoles.

This family had long been resident in north-west Norfolk, and furnished a martyr under Queen Elizabeth in the person of Edward Walpole, who suffered for complicity in the Jesuit plots of Campion and Parsons, but it first emerged from obscurity, and began to come to the front, when the Howards ceased to be dominant in Norfolk. Robert Walpole, father of the great Sir Robert, was member for the pocket borough of Castle Rising. For more than thirty years Sir Robert Walpole ruled England as Prime Minister, and Houghton Hall, which he built at a fabulous cost, remains as a monument of the wealth he acquired during his years of office. The election expenses in the Norfolk contest of 1734 are said to have cost Sir Robert £60,000. The expenses at Houghton are said to have been £1,500 a week during Sir Robert's *régime*. Horace Walpole, the delicate and fastidious dilettante, to whom the property came at his uncle's death, could never stand "the wilds of Norfolk" and the rough ways of the Norfolk farmers, on which he wrote some scathing comments from his rustic retreat of Strawberry Hill at Twickenham.

Among the noted families of Norfolk space must also be found to mention the Keppels, the family seat being at Quidenham, in this county. Descended from an old Dutch family in Guelderland, Arnold Joost van Keppel came over to England with William III., and was created Earl of Albemarle in 1696. He was a confidante of that monarch, and fought at Ramilies, 1706, and Oudenarde, 1708. Quidenham was purchased in 1762 by George, third Earl of Albemarle.

Since their arrival in England the Keppels, like many another family of foreign origin, have won distinction both on land and sea, and are still worthily represented at the present day.

Coming to literature, mention must be made of Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., and author of numerous historical treatises. He is supposed to have belonged to Diss in this county, though Bishop Stubbs was doubtful on this point.

John Bale (1495-1503), the great controversialist, was a native of Norwich, and vicar of Swaffham in 1551.

Robert Greene, one of the golden band of poets who heralded Shakespeare, and among whom were numbered Marlowe, Peile, Lodge, and others, was born at Norwich in 1560, and with Skelton, who preceded him, and Shadwell who followed, makes up a trio of writers of whom any county might be proud. Greene's poetry was in curious contrast with his life. The latter was wild in the extreme, and was brought to a sudden termination in 1592 through his own excesses. The former was pure and sweet, especially his lyrics, with all the sylvan sweetness and romantic purity of the best productions of the age. Mr. Gosse says of him, that

"there was an absolute chasm between the foulness of his life and the serenity of his intellect, and no literary theme interested him much unless it was interpenetrated with sentimental beauty."[1]

His lyrics show a sense of colour that recalls the masters of Italian painting in the preceding century, and the marvel about all Greene's poetry is that it should have "proceeded from the lawless bully, whose ruffled hair and long red beard became a beacon and terror to all good citizens, till in the midst of his 'villainous cogging and foisting' and all his rascally sleights, he was carried off in the 32nd year of his life by a surfeit of Rhenish wine and pickled herrings."[2] The details of his career are few. He was a graduate of Cambridge, and some say he took orders. For

1 Ward's *English Poets*, vol. i., p. 402.
2 *Ibid*, p. 404.

a time, after 1578, he travelled in Italy and Spain, and then, returning to London, made his living as a playwright and pamphleteer. He had a share in the early form of the "Henry VI." plays, which Shakespeare re-wrote, and his best lyrics are to be found in the romance of *Menaphon*, 1589; in *Never Too Late*, 1590; and *The Mourning Garment*, 1590. Before the end he seems to have had a short spell of repentance, during which he wrote his autobiographical pamphlet, *A Groatsworth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance*, in which he rails at Marlowe and Peile, and attacks Shakespeare, then a rising dramatist, for attempting to gain credit for himself by vamping the plays of better men. In this attempt to make mischief between his fellow-dramatists and Shakespeare, says Professor Raleigh, Greene uses language which proves that Shakespeare was in closer touch with the players than he and his fellow university wits had ever been. "Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tiger's heart wrapt in a Player's hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being a veritable *Johannes factotum* is in his own conceit the only Shakescene in a country."

The line from *Henry VI.*, which is here parodied by Greene, gives us, continues Professor Raleigh, our first sure date in Shakespeare's dramatic history.[1]

"Greene's works," says one of his biographers, "contain the seeds of virtue, while his acts betray the trees of folly"; and when he died, the wretched woman who was with him set a garland of bay-leaves on the poor dishonoured head of this strange genius, in a happy prescience of the tenderness with which posterity, and not least the inhabitants of his own county of Norfolk, which cannot boast among her illustrious sons many who

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1 *Shakespeare*, by Professor Raleigh (English Men of Letters Series), p. 107.

have been enkindled with the divine fire of poesy, would pardon all his sins for the sake of his pure and beautiful verses.

During the perturbed years of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth, Sir Thomas Browne, son of a Cheapside mercer, was living quietly at Norwich, where he is usually said to have settled at the persuasion of Dr. Lushington, his former tutor, and rector of Burnham Westgate in this county. Sir Thomas was born in 1605, and came to Norwich in 1635, residing for the latter part of his life in a house which stood in the market-place, near St. Peter Mancroft Church. Mr. Walter Rye has shown that it is probable that he chose Norwich for his residence at the invitation of an alderman, William Browne, of Norwich, who occupied the "Sampson and Hercules" House on St. George's, Tombland, now an old curiosity shop, in 1635, and who was, in all likelihood, his uncle. His will was proved in 1639. Sir Thomas Browne's life and works are so familiar to all students of our literature that it will suffice here merely to mention the principal writings by which his fame has been established. Before coming to Norwich he had already written his *Religio Medici* at Shibden, in Yorkshire; it was completed about 1634, but was not published until 1642, the same year that Edgehill was fought, and then without his sanction. In the following year, however, he brought it out, revised by himself. The *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, or, "Enquiry into Vulgar Errors"—a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore"—appeared in 1646, when the royal cause had already become hopeless, and in the same year he published his *Hydriotaphia*, or "Urn Burials," a meditation on the vanity of human affairs, based on the study of some burial urns discovered in a field near Old Walsingham, but not one word betrays that the author took any interest in the tragedies of the time. In 1658,

The Garden of Cyrus, a mystical treatise, saw the light. Sir Thomas Browne was knighted in 1671, on the occasion of a royal visit to Norwich, and died in 1682. His house was the resort of all the learned men of the age, who were attracted by the reputation for knowledge of the old antiquary and philosopher, so that Norwich became a centre of light and leading during his latter years. His works will be read as long as the English tongue endures, in spite of their overburdening Latinisms and involved sentences, for the real beauty of the style, and the antique wisdom and wise scepticism which they contain, mixed up though this be with a heap of rubbish, which later research has consigned to the lumber room reserved for exploded theories and antiquated ideas. Among other notions which a more enlightened age has rejected, Sir Thomas was a firm believer in the reality of witchcraft, and expressed his belief not only in his books, but also, unfortunately, in the trial of two poor women, Amy Drury and Rose Cullenden, of Lowestoft, at Bury St. Edmunds, in 1664, which led to their condemnation by Sir Matthew Hales, and subsequent execution. This is the one blot upon his fame, but we must judge of him, as of all others, by the spirit of the age in which they live, and be lenient accordingly.

Norwich is proud of her illustrious citizen, in whose honour she has erected a fine monument, and two years ago the tercentenary of his birth was celebrated with great *éclat*. Of him Mr. George Saintsbury has said:—

"Nearly the greatest writer of English prose of the magnificent order, one of the best of all Englishmen from the moral and religious point of view: this is not too high praise for the wisely—and not more than wisely—doubting Thomas, who waited for better times at Norwich through the darkness of the Rebellion, and lightened it with imperishable thought and words."

In 1840 some workmen, who were employed in digging a vault in St. Peter Mancroft Church, accidentally broke

with the blow of a pickaxe the lid of a coffin, which proved to be that of Sir Thomas Browne. The bones of the skeleton were found to be in good preservation, particularly those of the skull. The sexton took this latter and sold it to a Dr. Lubbock, from whom it passed in 1847 to the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital Museum! *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

William Cowper, the gentle poet of *The Task* and the *Olney Hymns*, and the writer of that saddest poem in the English language, *The Castaway*, resided for a few years at East Dereham, where Bishop Bonner, of evil fame, had been rector.

George Borrow, the author of *Lavengro* and *Romany Rye*, and one of the most original geniuses who ever lived, belonged to Norfolk, and it was here that he wandered with the gipsies, and held those enchanting conversations with Petulengro, which will survive while the English language lasts.

Norfolk is also famous as the birthplace of the three celebrated seventeenth century lawyers, Coke, Hobart, and North, the former of whom will be remembered by his edition of Lyttelton's *Digest of the Laws of England*, known familiarly as "Coke on Lyttelton."

Coming to more recent times, we must not omit to mention the Norwich School of Painters, of whom the two Cromes and the Cotmans are the chief. The elder John Crome was born in the parish of St. Peter per Mountergate, Norwich, on December 22nd, 1768, and was baptized in the church of St. George, Tombland. He was apprenticed to a sign-painter in the city in 1783, but feeling the true inspiration of genius he surmounted all obstacles, and became the founder of the English school of landscape painting. His treatment of trees,

> "The woodland scene,
> Diversified with trees of every growth,
> Alike yet various,"

was exceptionally sympathetic in its presentation of the subject, the "Oak at Porringland" and the "Willow" being among the best pictures of their kind. He died in 1821, and was succeeded by his son, John Berney Crome, who excelled particularly in moonlight scenes.

John Sell Cotman (1782-1842) was an equally celebrated landscape artist, to which he added a taste for antiquity and architecture. From 1811 to 1839 he was engaged in etching plates of Norfolk buildings and antiquities, which are a treasure to the collector to-day, and from 1817 to 1820 he was similarly engaged in Normandy. He was succeeded by his two sons, Miles Edmund and Joseph John Cotman, who worthily carried on the traditions of the Norwich School to 1858 and 1878 respectively.

Mr. Laurence Binyon, of the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, has recently published a monograph on the art of John Crome and John Sell Cotman, in which the characteristics of these two great masters of the Norwich School are feelingly pourtrayed, and to this we would refer our readers. Of Crome he says:

"Crome's devotion to breadth and dignity is admirably seen in certain small pictures of 'still life,' and it helps him in the foregrounds of his large compositions; whatever he sees is fresh to him and wonderful; he is always about to get a new impression. Seeing a tree in sunlight, he paints its branches all defined, its leaves all touched with light; but when he paints a shady avenue, he waives all his knowledge of detail, and expresses only the broad transparent shadow. 'The Porringland Oak,'" which is, fortunately, in England, "The Willow," alas, having been deported to America, "seems to attack the most difficult problems of direct and reflected sunshine, and triumphs over all."

Of Cotman he says:

"Cotman's time has not yet come; he still awaits his due of fame. Many things have hindered the right appreciation of his genius; but chiefly that his work is so little known. All his finest water-colours are in private hands. As a water-colour painter he has few equals. Turner apart, there is no one in our fine English school of imagination so rare, of achievement so various."

Space fails us to tell of Jane and Ann Taylor, the writers of children's hymns; of Mrs. Opie, the novelist, poet, and philanthropist, after whom a street in Norwich, of which she was a native, is called; and of many another whose fame Norfolk folk would not willingly let die. The Martineaus have been mentioned elsewhere. These must suffice.

They are but a few of the names which crowd upon the mind as we recall the Norfolk celebrities who have helped to make England great in one way or another; and as we look back over the events of history, or think of those who stand out upon its pages, we must admit that the county has borne her part well, and helped right nobly to swell the tale of those who, in the centuries that are gone, have contributed their share to the filling out of our "fair island's story."[1]

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[1] Since the above was written Mr. Walter Rye has adduced additional evidence in favour of the opinion which he has long held that Chaucer was born at Lynn.* If the probability may now be accounted a certainty, the name of "the Father of English Poetry" must be added to the role of "Norfolk Worthies."

*(*Norfolk Chronicle*, Nov. 30th, 1907.)

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